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# The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age

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The spectacularly rugged region of Lycia lies in the southwest corner of Asia Minor, where the high peaks of the Taurus reach the sea. This mountainous country contains numerous small plains and basins that provide space for cultivation and settlement. The largest plains are on the coast or in the isolated inland districts of Cibyratis and Milyas. Communications by land are difficult, but several excellent harbors enabled Lycia to benefit from its location on the natural route for trade and communication between the Aegean, the eastern Mediterranean, and Egypt. These ports were the last convenient landfall for ships from the West or the Aegean, before crossing the open seas to Egypt or the Levant. Since dependable northwest winds facilitated direct sailing between Lycia and Alexandria, the local ports played a significant role in the grain trade between the capital and Egypt. Cities of the whole region prospered from trade between the provinces of the Roman Empire, and from exchange of the agricultural products of inland Lycia for the merchandise or money of more developed regions.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest resource of the Lycian mountains was timber for shipbuilding, especially valuable to the treeless Egyptians whose influence extended to the country in the Hellenistic period, and who never lost their interest in it. Agriculture was the basic source of wealth, which had allowed Lycia to prosper in the Hellenistic period, but it was especially trade, in those agricultural products, which brought the whole region to a remarkable and unparalleled level of prosperity under the Romans and in late antiquity.

This study will be concerned with the coastal district and the fertile plains which open onto it, the regions of Telmessus, Xanthus, Patara, Aperlae, Cyanae, Myra, Limyra, and Phaselis.<sup>2</sup> It aims to present the evidence for settlement in this region in late antiquity

A List of Abbreviations is found at the end of this article.

<sup>1</sup>For the history and monuments of Lycia, see Bean, and for the historical geography of the region discussed here, the important and detailed study of Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*. D. Magie in *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), 516–22, gives a succinct sketch of the geography and resources of the country, while Fowden, 343–70, provides a more elaborate description à la Braudel, with careful attention to communications. For relations with Egypt, see especially M. Zimmermann, “Die lykischen Häfen und die Handelswege im östlichen Mittelmeer,” *ZPapEpig* 92 (1992), 201–17.

<sup>2</sup>The choice is determined by the importance of the sites and the availability of studied archaeological evidence. Other sites in the region, even though potentially of great interest, have necessarily been omitted, since the published material is not adequate to support discussion: Antiphellos/Phellos and Olympus (briefly discussed below in the section on Phaselis) are examples.

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and the Byzantine Middle Ages, from the time of Diocletian until the arrival of the Turks. These pages will investigate the question of relative prosperity or decline—in particular the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages—and the relation between city and country. For this, Lycia is better suited than any other region of Asia Minor because it contains extensive remains of both cities and villages which have been made known through surveys and excavation. It is therefore possible to consider the cities together with their territories rather than, as often happens, as isolated entities.

Under the Romans, Lycia was included in a province with Pamphylia. It became a separate district, governed by a *praeses*, in the time of Constantine; its civil and ecclesiastical metropolis was Myra, in the center of the southern coast. Under Theodosius II, the governor was promoted to *consularis*. Hierocles, writing in the time of Justinian, lists thirty-four cities in the province, most of them small and obscure places in the interior.<sup>3</sup> The larger cities, however, are known well enough to allow a historical development to be traced: Xanthus and Limyra have been excavated, and several others surveyed. In general, the historical sources are far too sparse to support serious discussion, but the archaeological evidence is exceptionally abundant. This discussion, therefore, will exploit the evidence of excavations and surveys (as well as some personal observation) in order to produce a coherent and comprehensive image of developments in the periods to be considered.

Lycia prospered in late antiquity. Peace was generally maintained, and urban life flourished, especially in the ports which profited from local and international trade. Architecture reflects the close contact between Lycia, Egypt, and the Holy Land by its style, and the prosperity of city and country by its abundance and variety.<sup>4</sup> Cities maintained their ancient extent and buildings—Xanthus even expanded—and many entirely new settlements grew along the coast; churches and monasteries were established throughout the country. The most impressive evidence comes from the coastal districts around Telmessus and Aperlae, where a whole network of new and evidently successful towns and villages sprang up. Activity was especially intense in the time of Justinian, when the metropolis of Myra was rebuilt and the famous and magnificent monastery of Holy Zion was founded in its territory. The churches of Lycia were already active in the fourth century when many of them seem to have followed the doctrines of Arius. Later bishops were usually orthodox, but the close contact with Egypt and the Levant manifest in the sources and the architecture suggests that Monophysite influence may have been of some importance.

The advent of the Byzantine period, with the attacks of Persians and Arabs, was especially disastrous for Lycia, whose location exposed it to the full thrust of the Arab naval expeditions against the capital. The land which had known peace for centuries was apparently first ravaged by the Persians during the great war of 602–628, as the archaeological evidence from Xanthus, and perhaps Limyra, suggests. The Arabs, though, inflicted

<sup>3</sup>Historical summary: Harrison, "Churches," 118–24. Administrative history: *RE*, XIII.2276 and Supp. XIII.279; Malalas, Bonn ed. (1831), 365; Hierocles, ed. E. Honigmann (Bruxelles, 1939), 682–86. For the ecclesiastical history of the province, which will not be treated here, see V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften II, Kleinasien* (1922–26), 188–209, and Harrison, "Churches," 119.

<sup>4</sup>Harrison, "Churches," 148 ff.

far more widespread devastation. In 655, their first naval expedition struck the Byzantine lands, reaching Rhodes and winning an overwhelming victory off Phoenix.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the whole region lay open to attack and devastation.

During the great expedition against Constantinople in 672–677, when the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor were out of Byzantine control, Lycia can hardly have escaped attack and devastation, especially in 672, when the Arab fleet spent the winter in Lycia and Cilicia.<sup>6</sup> Such activity would necessarily have involved widespread exactions of supplies from the local population and probably much looting. Subsequently, the coast lay open to Arab raids during the long centuries of campaigns against Asia Minor, and was especially vulnerable during the period (823–961) when an Arab state was established in Crete.

The archaeological record reveals the extent of these depredations: Xanthus was burned; most undefended coastal sites, especially those on islands, were abandoned; and other cities contracted severely to become small fortified towns covering part of their ancient area or perched on nearby hilltops. The first attacks were evidently the most disastrous, for by the eighth century, although raids still continued, it was possible for Myra to build a new and splendid church, and in the ninth large monasteries were again being constructed in the mountains. With the resurgence of Byzantine power under the Macedonian dynasty, which reconquered Crete in 961, the seas were again safe, and peace and prosperity could return. Myra was, indeed, ravaged by the Arabs in 1034, but it soon recovered; the incident seems isolated. After the disaster of Manzikert in 1071, however, Turks overran Lycia by land and sea inflicting two decades of chaos until Byzantine rule was restored to bring a final century of peace.

The region fell definitively to the Turks in the troubled times after the battle of Myriokephalon (1176). Phileta, in the mountains of northern Lycia, where imperial control collapsed first, was already lost by 1158. It was probably Turkish nomads, moving down from that region, who occupied the coastal district before 1191, when Philip Augustus returned from the Third Crusade. According to the detailed contemporary account of his journey, Mt. Cragus, west of the Xanthus Valley, was then called *Caput Turchiae* since it marked the frontier between the domains of the emperor and sultan. The cities of the coast, ravaged by pirates, were virtually deserted.<sup>7</sup> The western coast and the area around Telmessus remained Byzantine for a short while, but by the time of the Empire of Nicaea (1204–61), the frontier had receded to the Indus River and all Lycia was in Turkish hands.<sup>8</sup>

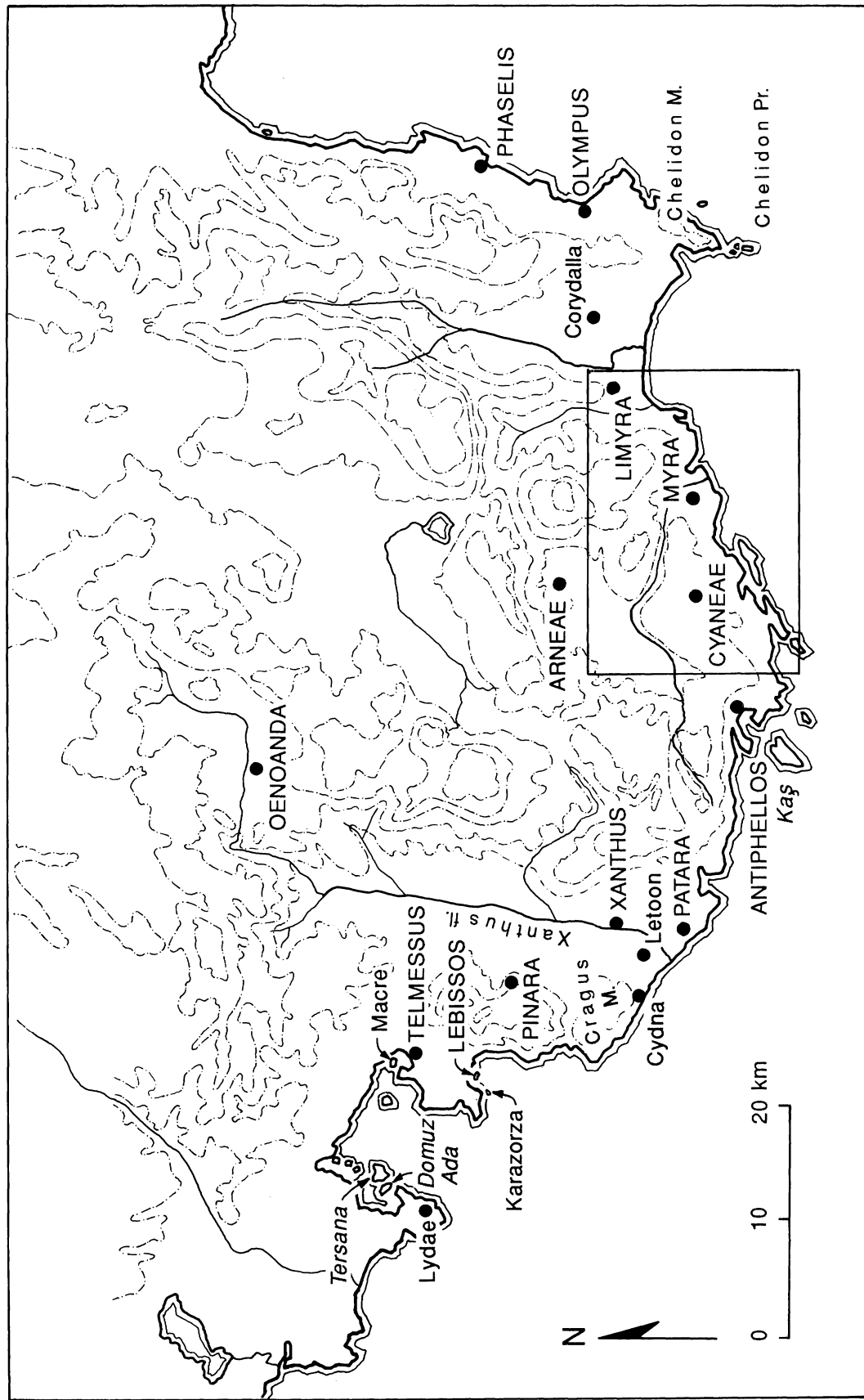
The last two centuries of Byzantine rule, in spite of the difficulties which the government had to face, were relatively prosperous; churches and chapels were built, fortresses

<sup>5</sup>For these events and their consequences, see H. Hellenkemper, "Lykien und die Araber," in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien Symposiums*, ed. J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (Vienna, 1993) (=DenkWien 231 = *TAM* Ergänzungsheft 17), 99–106.

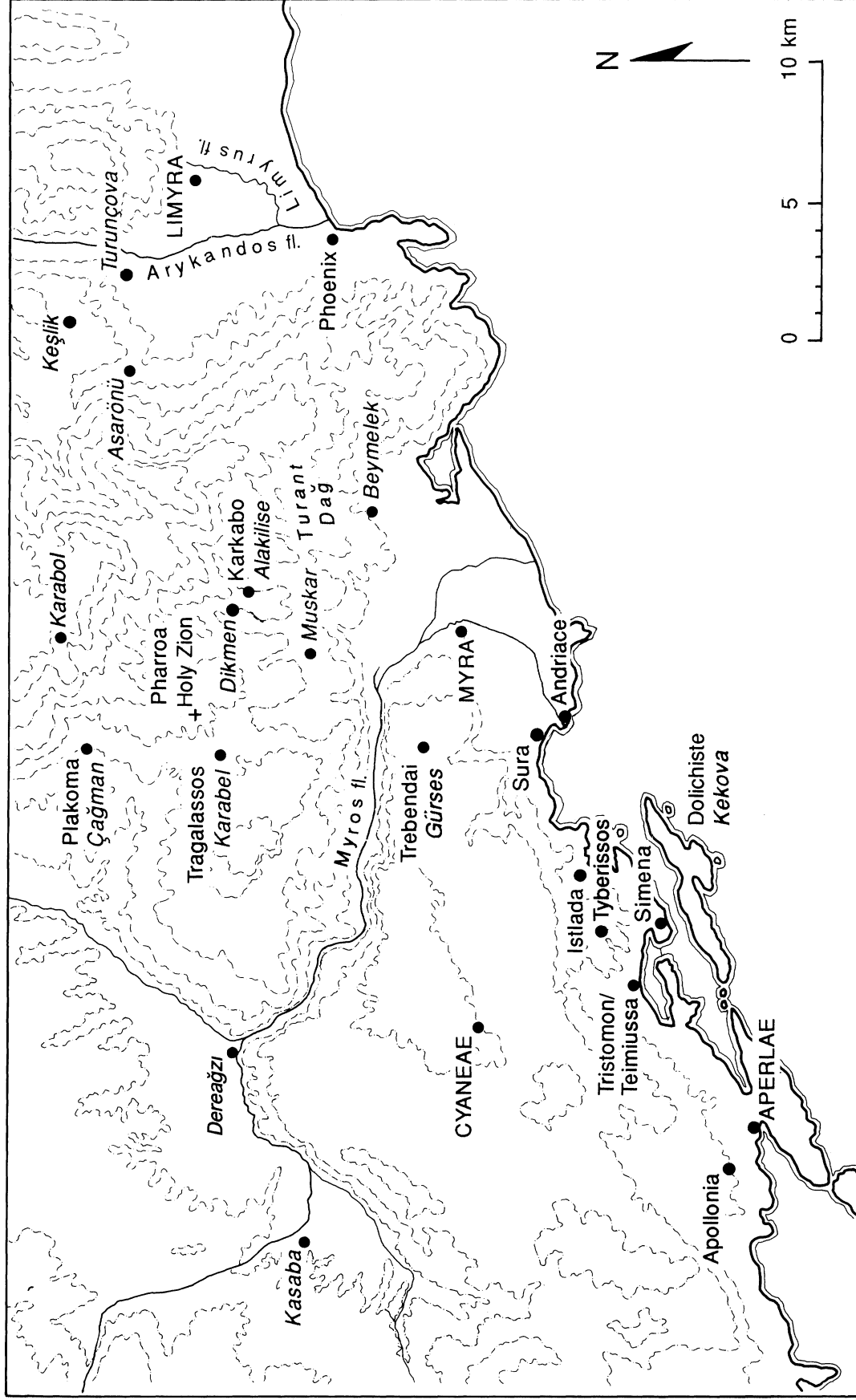
<sup>6</sup>Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 353; cf. R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich, 1976), 75 f, with further references.

<sup>7</sup>See Roger of Hoveden, III, 159 (= Benedict, 197). Since Roger's work is based on that of Benedict of Peterborough (not accessible to me), I shall also give his pages.

<sup>8</sup>For the frontier between the Empire of Nicaea and the Turks, see P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul, 1934), 1 f, with the text of Ibn Said there quoted.



Map I The Lycian coast



Map II Myra and its neighbors

were reconstructed. To understand the whole period, the individual districts will be considered, beginning with the westernmost, Telmessus, and proceeding east through Phaselis.

#### THE REGION OF TELMESSUS

The large and well-protected gulf of Telmessus (now Fethiye) offers the finest accommodation for shipping in Lycia, as well as a small and fertile plain and a series of sheltered coves and offshore islands. Several of the islands have arable land; others contain good ports. Most of them, from Lydae at the western entrance of the gulf to St. Nicholas south of Telmessus, were densely inhabited in late antiquity and provide one of the most remarkable examples of a widespread maritime urban life in Asia Minor.

Of all the cities in Lycia, Telmessus is the only one which has remained an important center, but history records little about it.<sup>9</sup> Not mentioned in late antiquity, it appears as a bishopric in *notitiae* of the seventh through the ninth century.<sup>10</sup> In one of them, composed at the end of the eighth century, it is called Anastasiopolis, apparently in honor of Anastasius II, whose short reign (713–715) saw extensive military preparation against the Arabs.<sup>11</sup> He rebuilt the walls of Constantinople and planned measures against the Arab fleet that was coming to Phoenix in Lycia to cut timber. Although that effort failed when a revolt deposed the emperor, it is possible that Telmessus with its convenient harbor was the scene of some military activity which justified its change of name. The new name, like the emperor, was ephemeral; “Telmessus” appears again in later *notitiae* and in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who refers to it as a “famous city.”<sup>12</sup>

By the tenth century, however, the city changed its name once again, and came to be called Macre, as it still was in modern times.<sup>13</sup> Macre or Macris was the name of the large island that controlled the entrance to the harbor. It was an important settlement by the fifth century when the bishop of “Telmessus and Macre” attended the Council of Chalcedon, but is not heard of again until its name usurps that of Telmessus.<sup>14</sup>

The change may merely reflect the ninth-century reorganization of the Lycian church, but more probably indicated a present reality in which the islands, no longer secure, were abandoned and their populations moved to the better defended city. Macre appears once again, in the description of the pilgrim Daniel who visited it in 1106. He was struck by the incense which grew there and along the coast as far as Myra. He mentions two kinds, one from a tree, the other from a shrub (storax), and describes its method of production.<sup>15</sup> Such a luxury probably played a significant role in the local economy.

<sup>9</sup>General description: Bean, 39–41, and, in more detail, J. v. Hammer, *Topographische Ansichten* (Vienna, 1811; henceforth, v. Hammer), 91–117.

<sup>10</sup>These are *notitiae* 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10; texts in J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981).

<sup>11</sup>*Notitia* 2, 310; the association of the name with this Anastasius rather than the more famous emperor of the fifth century was made by E. Kalinka in *TAM*, II.i.2. For Anastasius II, see Theophanes, 383–86.

<sup>12</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematribus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican City, 1952), 78.

<sup>13</sup>See *notitiae* 7, 9, 10, and 13, and the discussion of Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 76.

<sup>14</sup>A bishop of Macre, not Telmessus, attended the council of 879; the notice of the Porphyrogenitus, therefore and not surprisingly, may be considered anachronistic.

<sup>15</sup>Daniel, 7. For the importance of this incense production, see Louis Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1987), 505 f.

The remains enable some of the history of Telmessus-Macre to be appreciated. The ancient city, which occupied the low land along the harbor, has almost entirely succumbed to modern construction. In late antiquity, it probably continued as the site of the major settlement. The only substantial remains, however, are medieval, in the typical form of a fortification which stretches down the slopes of the hill above the harbor. It has two circuits, a long lower wall which encloses a substantial area, and an upper single wall which has little behind it and was evidently intended to provide a better vantage for overshooting the lower circuit. There was also a wall by the harbor, long since demolished, which enclosed an area now partly covered by the sea.<sup>16</sup>

The style of the lower walls (Fig. 1),<sup>17</sup> constructed mostly of large spoils and employing round and square towers, is suggestive of the Dark Ages. It is tempting to associate their construction with Anastasius II, and see the new fortifications as the reason for adopting the new honorific name. The wall shows, in any case, that the site was well defended and capable of accommodating a substantial garrison. The upper circuit (Fig. 2) has been dated by its style of masonry to the Comnene period, and has been seen as part of a general improvement of defenses to meet the new Turkish threat.<sup>18</sup> The sea wall may have represented both periods to show that Byzantine Telmessus had two separate fortifications, the hilltop redoubt and the harbor walls, the latter reflecting the continuing importance of the port.<sup>19</sup> This Comnene activity was, in any case, the last by the Byzantines in the area, which became Turkish by the early thirteenth century.

The island of Macre supported as large a settlement as its length of about two km would justify. It was covered with houses, probably of late antique date, and contained three fortresses, perhaps of the Comnene period. They were probably part of a coordinated effort to maintain control of the harbor and the approaches to it.<sup>20</sup> The nature of this site, which had been important enough to share a bishopric with the neighboring city, will become more evident when the others of the region have been considered.

A large peninsula, connected to the continent only by a narrow neck of land, delimits the gulf of Macre on the west. It contains the remains of LYDAE, a place known as a city in the Hellenistic period, but not in later ages, when it probably belonged to Telmessus. The site bears the ruins of Roman civic buildings and of a large, late antique settlement. The isthmus and the eastern projection of the peninsula were eventually blocked off by walls of mortared rubble and spoils.<sup>21</sup> These appear designed to provide defense against

<sup>16</sup>v. Hammer, 96 f.

<sup>17</sup>The illustrations are not intended to be comprehensive, but to concentrate on remains which are rarely, if ever, illustrated. Consequently, they omit excavated sites in general (except for fortifications) and the sites in the region of Myra. Illustration of these can easily be found in the relevant publications.

<sup>18</sup>For these walls, see C. Foss, "The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOTR* 27 (1982), 145–206, at 193–95, as well as the careful description of v. Hammer, 96 (with engraving; he calls the walls "ein Werk neuerer Unwissenheit und Barbarey; vielleicht ein Werk der Byzantiner. . ."), and W. Wurster, "Survey antiker Städte in Lykien," *Colloque* (1980), 29–36, with the plan on p. 35.

<sup>19</sup>v. Hammer, 96 f, describes the upper part of the sea wall as being of the same style as the fortress (with brick around the stones and many spoils), while the lower courses were earlier.

<sup>20</sup>See the brief accounts of R. Hoskyn, "Narrative of a Survey of Part of the South Coast of Asia Minor," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 12 (1842), 143–61, at 146; *TAM*, II.1.2; and v. Hammer, 93. He notes (p. 96) that the forts are of the same masonry as the fortress and sea walls of Telmessus.

<sup>21</sup>This and the adjacent sites have not been surveyed, nor have their late antique remains been studied. See the descriptions of E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra," *JHS* 10 (1889), 46–85,

attack from the mainland, either directly, or by enemies who might have been ferried across to the rough eastern hill. The seaward parts of the site are not protected.

A narrow strait separates Lydae from an island now called Domuz Adası and its neighbor, Tersana. These, too, are covered with late antique remains. The former contains a well-built bath with numerous houses around. A church stands on Tersana, in the midst of similar evidence of occupation.<sup>22</sup> In fact, the whole gulf presents a similar picture, as one of its first explorers, Lt. Hoskyn of the Royal Navy, wrote in 1842, "every island, bay and creek on the gulf has ruins of the middle ages."<sup>23</sup> The most spectacular and informative remains, however, lie to the south of the gulf.

A large mountainous promontory, which shields the approaches to Telmessus, marks the eastern end of the gulf. It terminates in the long and rugged triangular projection of Cape Angistro, which shelters, on its east, two islands of great interest. The larger, now called Gemile Ada, is apparently the site of LEBISSOS, a place with virtually no history. Bishops of Lebissos are attested through the twelfth century, and Italian sailing charts of the fourteenth century and later call the island San Nicola de Levixi.<sup>24</sup> In modern times, Levisi has been the name of a town in a protected basin just behind the coast opposite these islands; its outlet to the sea was opposite the islands, which would have provided its port. Here, as in the case of Macre and Telmessus, it appears that the town withdrew from the exposed island site to the safer interior basin.

Gemile Ada, or Lebissos, is somewhat more than a km long and about 500 m wide; it rises to a peak in the center and contains very little flat land. This was a flourishing and densely populated site in late antiquity, virtually covered with buildings of all kinds.<sup>25</sup> Structures of two or three stories with small rooms and individual vaulted cisterns (Fig. 3) line the waterfront and stretch far below the modern water level, which has risen several meters since antiquity. Houses continue up the slopes of the hill where they stand along streets that often turn into flights of steps. These are mostly freestanding structures, some of good cut stone, most of mortared rubble. They stretch the whole length of the island, in an unceasing jumble of standing structures and debris (Fig. 4). Among them is a huge vaulted cistern (Fig. 5) with a capacity of some 720 cubic m, enough to support a substantial settlement.

The lower town contains the remains of at least three large churches. A basilica with a geometric mosaic (Fig. 6) and remains of marble decoration, now badly ruined, stood at the west end of the island. Above it, on the slope of the hill, is a larger and better preserved church, a three-aisled basilica with an apse of good ashlar once revetted with marble (Fig. 7). Among its surviving decoration are some Ionic impost capitals (Fig. 8)

at 50–55, and P. Roos, "Topographical and Other Notes on South-Eastern Caria," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 9 (1969), 59–93, at 75–83.

<sup>22</sup>See the brief descriptions of J. T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor," *JHS* 9 (1888), 82–87, at 83; Hicks, "Inscriptions"; A. Maiuri, "Viaggio di esplorazione in Caria," *Annuario* 4/5 (1924), 345–424, at 424, and Roos, "Caria," 83.

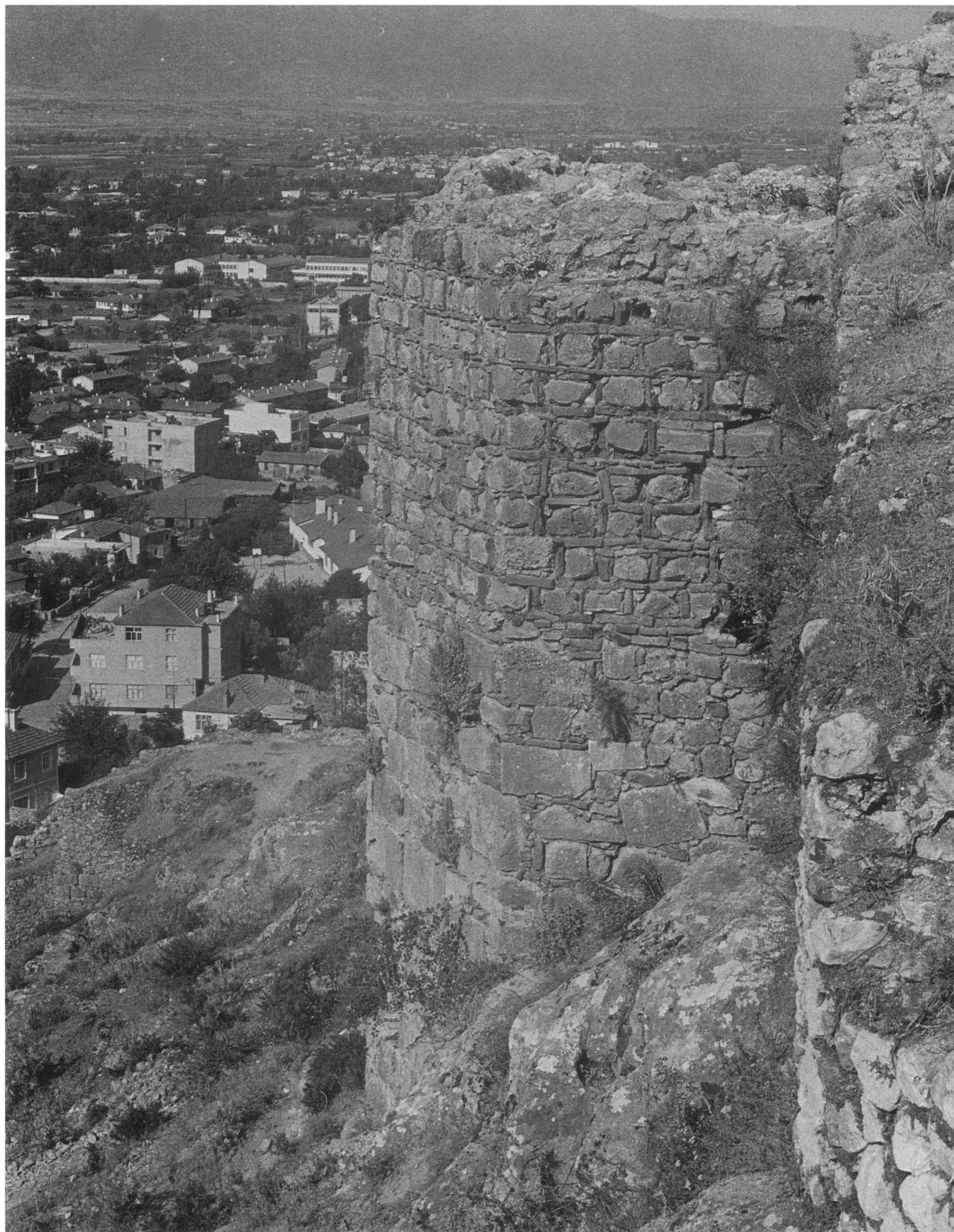
<sup>23</sup>Hoskyn, "Narrative," 145.

<sup>24</sup>See *Notitiae* 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, and 10; K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), 665; and the discussion of R. Carter, "A Turkish Exploration by Boat," *Archaeology* 38 (1985), 16–21.

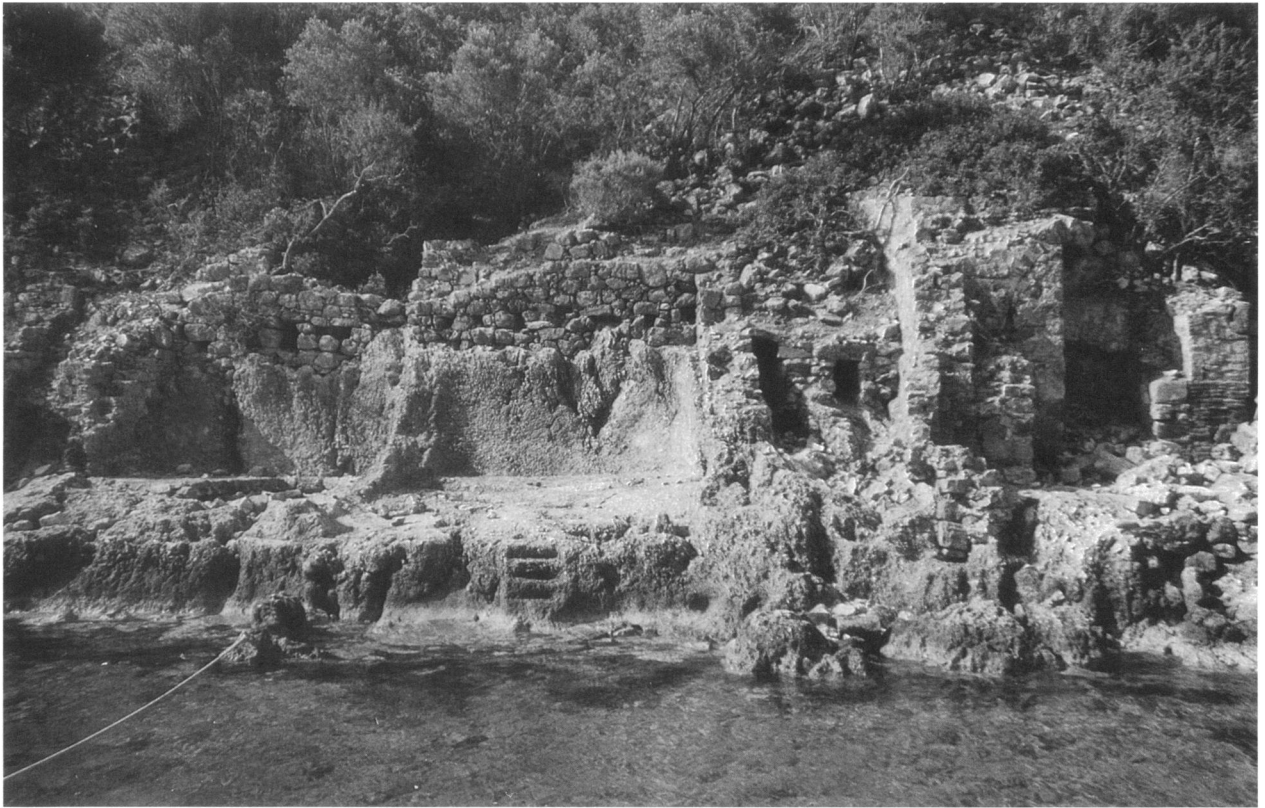
<sup>25</sup>The following is written from personal inspection of the site; see the summary in Foss, "Coasts," 220–25; cf. Carter, "Turkish Exploration."



1 Telmessus, lower walls



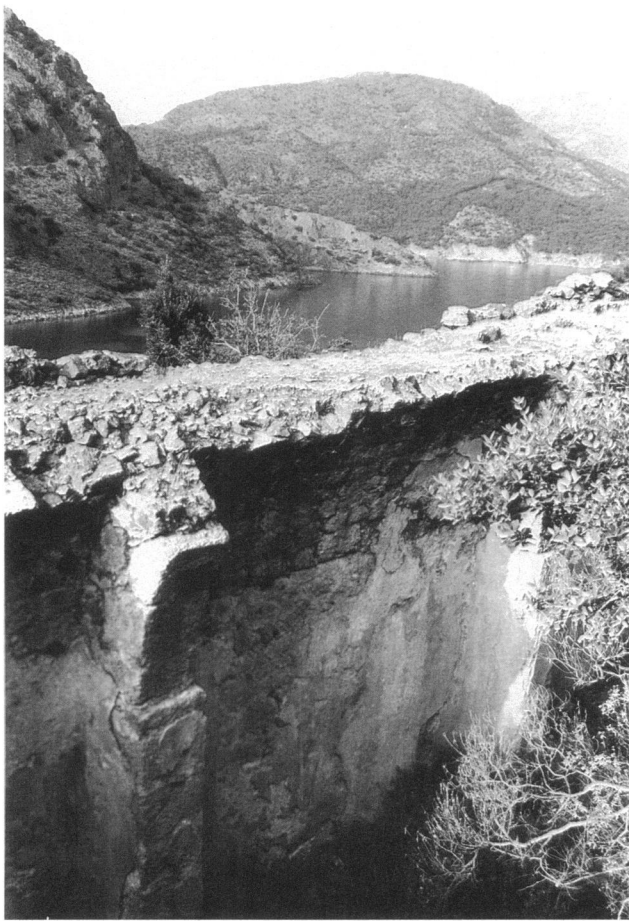
2 Telmessus, upper fortification wall



3 Lebissos, buildings by shore



4 Lebissos, standing remains



5 Lebissos, cistern



6 Lebissos, mosaic of west basilica



7 Lebissos, Church of St. Nicholas



8 Lebissos, impost capital, St. Nicholas church, possibly late imitation of a sixth-century type



9 Lebissos, east basilica, capital



10 Lebissos, covered passageway, from above



11 Lebissos, covered passageway, interior



12 Lebissos, covered passageway, plastering



13 Lebissos, "cathedral," marble decoration



14 Lebissos, "cathedral," chancel plaques



15 Lebissos, chapel by cathedral, apse



16 Lebissos, chapel by cathedral, arcades covering earlier frescoes



17 Lebessos, Karazorza, apse of basilica



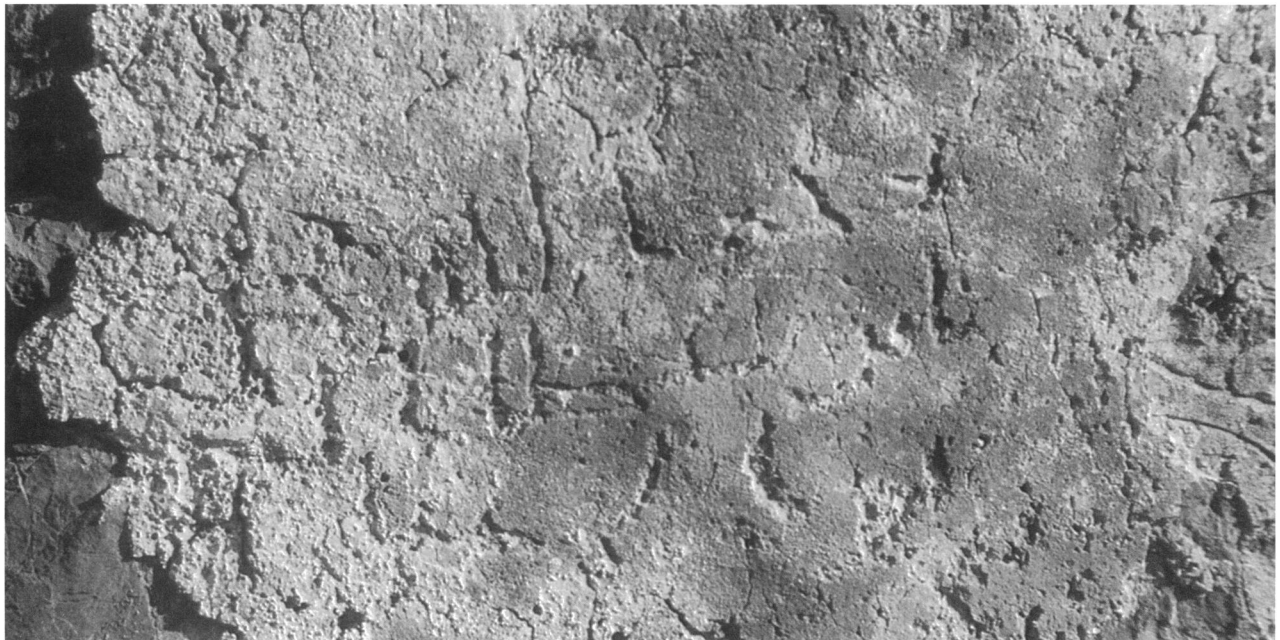
18 Lebissos, Karazorza, basilica, capital



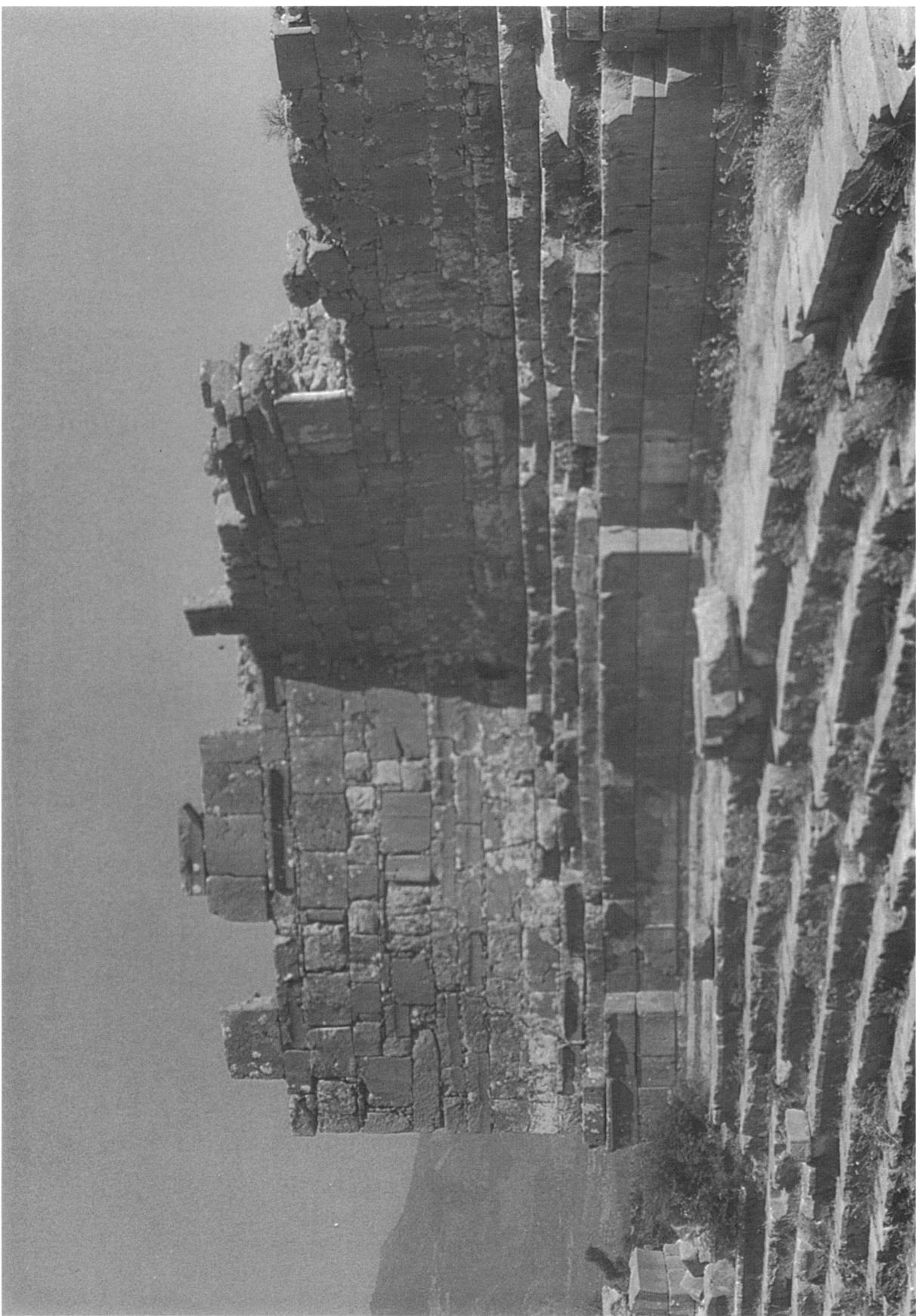
19 Lebissos, Karazorza, south wall and side chapel of basilica



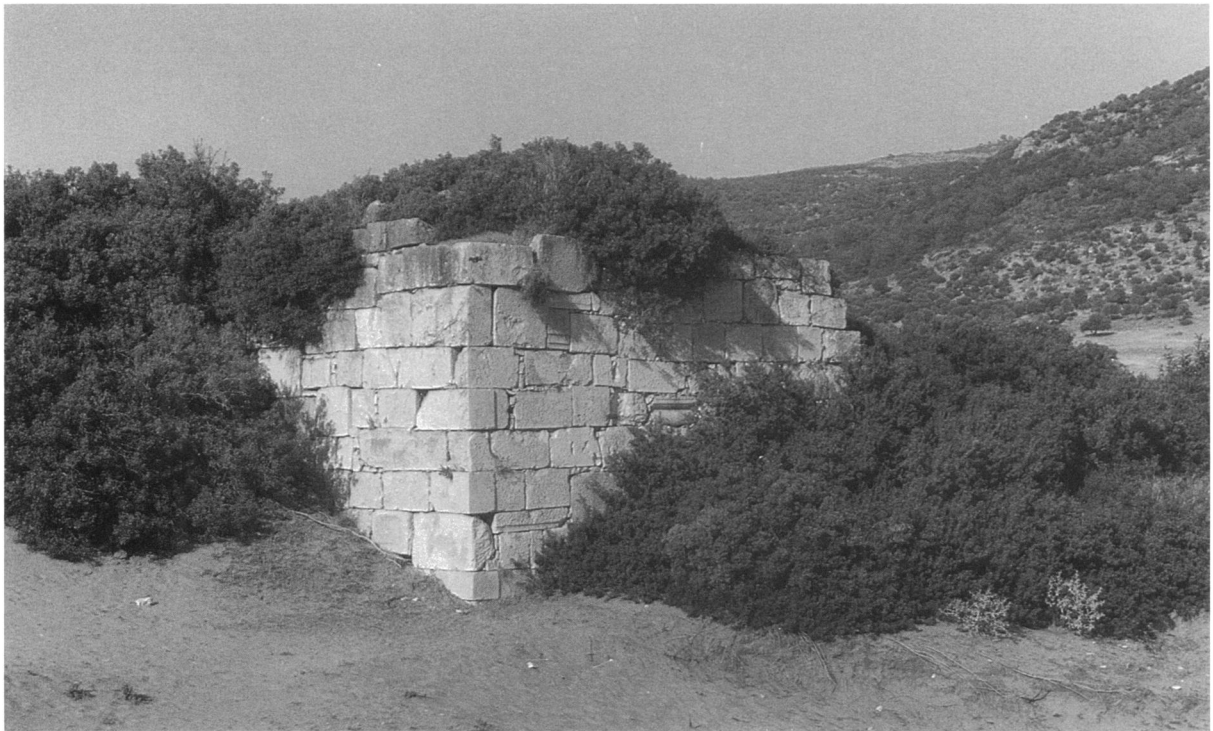
20 Lebissos, Karazorza, tomb structure



21 Lebissos, Karazorza, Arab graffito on basilica wall



22 Xanthus, walls of acropolis



23 Patara, tower of first walls



24 Patara, later walls



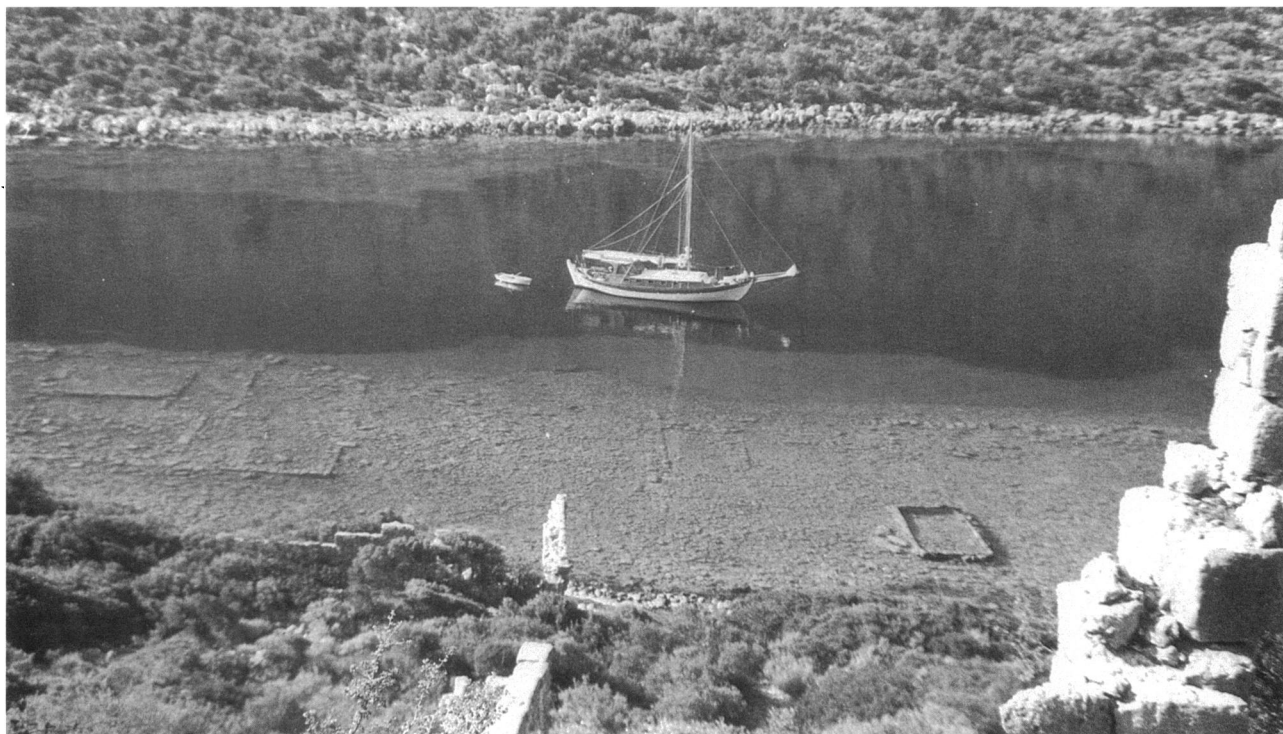
25 Aperlae, lower gate



26 Aperlae, two-story building



27 Aperlae, bath by shore



28 Aperlae, submerged harbor district



29 Aperlae, lower basilica,  
fragments of decoration



30 Aperlae, necropolis basilica, fragments of decoration



31 Aperlae, murex shells and pottery, outside west gate



32 Aperlai, citadel walls, apse of cathedral in background



33 Aperlai, masonry of citadel



34 Dolichiste, apse of basilica



35 Dolichiste, southern site



36 Island off Dolichiste, gateway of basilica



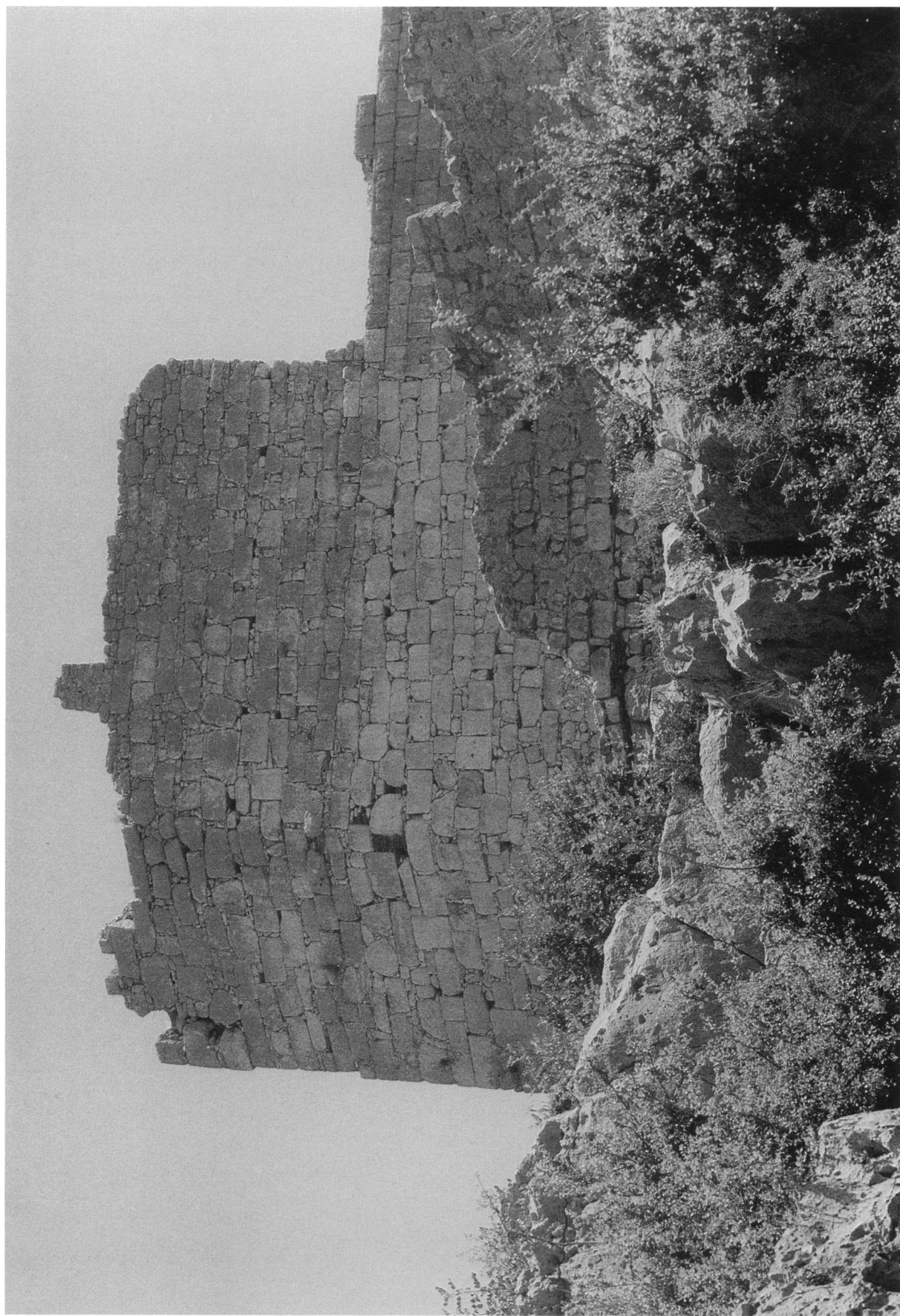
37 Island off Dolichiste, basilica, capital



38 Tristomon, gateway



39 Andriace, warehouses



40 Myra, citadel walls



41 Andriace, walls of first period with later tower



42 Myra, Byzantine citadel walls built over earlier "Cyclopean" walls



43 Limyra, wall and towers of west enclosure



44 Olympus, late antique/ Byzantine building



45 Olympus, late city wall



46 Phaselis, Byzantine wall

of a type popular in the sixth century. Since the church stands on a steep slope, part of it is carved from the rock, and the main entrance is through a passage on the north which contains faded frescoes. One of them portrays the Virgin and Child between a tall robed figure (apparently the donor) and a saint with the label "Hosios Nikolaos."<sup>26</sup> Saint Nicholas was probably the patron of the church, as he was of the whole island in the Middle Ages. A third church lies to the east, at the upper end of the residential quarter. It had an atrium paved with mosaic, capitals (Fig. 9), and fragments of architectural sculpture that suggest a date in the sixth century.

One of the most remarkable structures in the island led from this church to the top of the hill, through a district mostly empty except for a few graves and an occasional large building. Passage was facilitated by a covered walkway of stone, about 200 m long, with large windows to admit the breeze (Figs. 10, 11). It was built of mortared rubble with a continuous stone vaulting, and plastered on the inside in imitation of ashlar masonry (Fig. 12). It ended in a vestibule of cut stone which gave access to the largest church in the site, a three-aisled basilica with galleries, narthex, and exonarthex. The walls of the nave were plastered and covered with frescoes, its floor with mosaic. Numerous chancel plaques and other marble fragments (Figs. 13, 14) give a hint of the elaborate interior decor. This building appears from its size and location to have been the cathedral. It was apparently surrounded by a large open area occupying the entire top of the hill.

The cathedral and the buildings around it appear to be late antique, but there are traces of later occupation, both here and in other parts of the site. Some of the windows of the cathedral were blocked, and a new chapel was built near it, on the summit of the hill. This small, single-apsed structure of broken spoils and brick (Fig. 15) has a series of blind arcades on its north wall which appear almost Gothic and cover a layer of earlier frescoes (Fig. 16). The church of St. Nicholas also shows blocking of the windows and the main door, and some sculpture which may be of a secondary period in imitation of the first (see Fig. 8).

The settlement on Gemile Ada may be considered together with that of the adjacent small island, and traces on the mainland opposite. The island, known in the Middle Ages as Karazorza, now Turkicized to Karacaören, is also virtually covered with buildings, but these are very different from those of the larger island. Most impressive among them is a large basilical church of mortared rubble with three apses with a good ashlar facing (Fig. 17) and a narthex. Floors, most of them built over huge cisterns, were apparently covered with mosaic, and much sculptured decoration in the form of chancel plaques and Ionic capitals (Fig. 18) has survived. These appear to be of the sixth century. The south aisle gave access to a long side chamber (Fig. 19) whose anteroom contained a cruciform baptistry. Its walls, like those in other parts of the church, bore frescoes of two periods, the first certainly late antique. The island had only one other substantial building, a massive structure of two stories and unknown purpose. Elsewhere were only tombs, many of them elaborate standing structures (Fig. 20). The island thus appears to have been the necropolis of the whole settlement. Several two-story houses stand on the opposite mainland whose shore bears cuttings, probably landings for boats. It, and an-

<sup>26</sup>Unfortunately, the paintings were too faded to show more than the lettering by the saint's head on a photograph.

other similar settlement to the east, probably provided additional sheltered landing places and communication with the interior.

The history of this remarkable site has to be reconstructed from its remains. They show, first, that the islands and the adjoining mainland were not occupied on any scale before late antiquity; there are no standing remains which may be attributed to earlier periods. This substantial, densely packed settlement appears to have come into existence in late antiquity and flourished in the sixth century. Like other foundations of that period, its plan differs profoundly from those of classical sites in its lack of public buildings. Although evidently a city, it has no theater, gymnasium, or agora, but is dominated by its churches.

This urban plan seems characteristic of the age of Justinian, when cities no longer had the resources to erect the buildings that had characterized earlier times, and when they came to be ruled by their bishops and large landowners. A close parallel exists in inland Lycia (an area outside the present study), in the fortified site which replaced Arycanda in the sixth century. This has houses packed along fairly regular narrow streets which lead to a large basilica at the end of the site; it has no agora or public civic buildings. Like Lebissos, it was occupied in the sixth and early seventh centuries. A similar site (whose ancient name is unknown) has been recently surveyed in the part of Caria closest to Lycia. It, too, is filled with public and private buildings and churches, partly on a regular plan, without the civic monuments of earlier ages. It has been tentatively attributed to the fifth century. The best known example of such a site, though in a region remote from this, is Justiniana Prima in Illyricum, the birthplace of Justinian, created by the emperor as a new city. It similarly lacks public buildings. These parallels all suggest that Lebissos represents a phenomenon characteristic of the time, and is part of a picture of urban prosperity, not decline as its lack of monuments might at first sight suggest.<sup>27</sup>

Occupation at Lebissos continued into the early seventh century, for surface finds of coins of Heraclius are reported. This was an active and successful port, whose existence necessarily depended on trade (for it has no cultivable land). It reflects a phenomenon which, as will be seen, was widespread in the region.

The Middle Ages have left little trace on the site. Most strikingly, it contains no fortification, the most characteristic and necessary element of settlements of the Dark Ages. Nor are there any remains which may be attributed to the long centuries after the end of antiquity. The traces of rebuilding in the churches and the chapel at the top of the hill could be of the Comnenian period (the use of brick in the chapel suggests that), and perhaps indicate considerable activity if, in fact, the churches were put back into use. The sculpture at St. Nicholas may suggest restoration, but the blocking of windows there and in the cathedral more likely indicates conversion to new uses.<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence,

<sup>27</sup>Arycanda: M. Harrison, "Town and Country in Late Roman Lycia," *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1981), I, 383–87. Carian site: K. Hattersley-Smith and V. Ruggieri, "A Byzantine City near Osmaniye (Dalaman) in Turkey," *OCP* 56 (1990), 135–64 (there seems no evidence for the proposed dating). Justiniana Prima: Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 37–39. For a dramatic statement of the transformation of cities in this period, see Procopius, *Secret History*, cap. 26.

<sup>28</sup>Proper study of the sculptures and the frescoes in particular might do much to resolve such questions. This site has as much potential as any in Asia Minor to illuminate both late antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages.

however, that the site as a whole was ever reoccupied or that it regained its previous importance. Most of the buildings appear to have been abandoned and never rebuilt.

One inscription provides a significant clue to the fate of the settlement. The plaster of one of the walls of the basilica on the smaller island of Karazorza bears a graffito in Arabic which reads, "May Allah have compassion on Hasan ibn Abdallah" (Fig. 21). The writing is in characters typical of the Umayyad period and may date to the early eighth or even late seventh century.<sup>29</sup> The inscription therefore can be taken to represent the activity of Arab raiders, probably after the battle of Phoenix in 655, when the Byzantine defenses of this coast collapsed. The circumstances can only be surmised, but the writer is likely to have been a member (or leader) of a looting expedition which could have been associated with the depopulation of the site. Whether the people fled before or after being attacked cannot be determined; but their lack of walls or any protection beside the Byzantine fleet would have made them extremely vulnerable in this unsettled time.

The history of Lebissos may be reconstructed only in outline. It was plainly an important place in late antiquity, and reached a height never again attained. In the Dark Ages, when its existence as a bishopric is well attested, the city presumably moved inland to the basin which bore its name until recently. Later in the Middle Ages, some activity returned to the island of St. Nicholas because of its convenient location as a sheltered anchorage on the main sailing routes between East and West. That occupation may have begun in the twelfth century and continued through the fourteenth, with the island perhaps in the hands of the Italians after the collapse of Byzantine rule. It appears in any case to have been ephemeral and not to have survived the arrival of the Turks, for no Moslem remains have been discovered.

#### XANTHUS

The valley of the Xanthus in western Lycia is the largest and most fertile plain of the whole region. Numerous settlements were established on it from the earliest days, the greatest among them the city of Xanthus, some six miles inland, which included in its territory a renowned temple of the goddess Leto. Extensive silting has created a marshy plain at the mouth of the river and obscured the ancient connection between the city and the sea. The city preserves extensive remains of all periods, which enable its history to be traced through the end of Byzantine rule. Excavations at the temple, the Letoon, provide valuable supplementary material, as does less detailed evidence from the fort of Cydna, at the edge of the plain near the sea, on the territory of Xanthus.

Archaic Xanthus was established on a hill beside the river, the Lycian acropolis. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it expanded to include another hill to the north, the Hellenistic acropolis, as well as an area of about a square kilometer to the east.<sup>30</sup> Under the Romans, and probably in all of antiquity, Xanthus was the greatest city of Lycia. In late antiquity, the Lycian acropolis remained the center of the city, but prosperity and expansion caused the eastern parts to become more densely inhabited. The sources are

<sup>29</sup>I am very grateful to Prof. Moshe Sharon of Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for reading and dating this inscription.

<sup>30</sup>For the history and archaeology of Xanthus, see the valuable summary of P. Demargne and H. Metzger in *RE*, A18 (1967; henceforth, *RE*, "Xanthos"), 1375–1408, at 1406 ff, with plan, 1377. See also P. Demargne, *Xanthos I: Les piliers funéraires* (Paris, 1958) 22–27, esp. 25, for the late antique expansion.

silent about Xanthus, recording only the education of its most famous son, Proclus, the last of the Neoplatonic philosophers. Born in Constantinople of Xanthian parents in 410, Proclus returned to his ancestral home for his early training in grammar, the cornerstone of the classical education.<sup>31</sup> This isolated fact shows that the city, like many in Asia Minor, had a tradition of scholarship and teachers of sufficient quality to attract students from outside the province.

The Lycian acropolis saw much change in late antiquity, as ancient monuments and buildings were razed to make way for an elaborate construction that was apparently a residential complex, perhaps for the local bishop. The main building resembles a basilical church with narthex, exonarthex, and atrium, but its apse faces south and the atrium, entered by a staircase from the narthex, stands at a higher level than the rest. Three vaulted rooms are connected with the central nave; basins for ritual ablutions stand by the staircase. The style of this building, which shows Oriental influence, has suggested a date in the fifth century.<sup>32</sup> In the southern part of the acropolis, a series of contemporary rooms, perhaps associated with the same complex, were decorated with attractive if crude mosaics of classical themes, showing Thetis dipping the infant Achilles in the Styx, Atalanta and Meleager, and medallions with personifications of Peace and Beauty.<sup>33</sup>

The rest of the city was marked by the expansion of residential quarters and construction of churches. Immediately north of the acropolis, a corner of the agora was occupied by a three-aisled basilica with a baptistery and other rooms paved with mosaic. Another church was built into a Roman civic basilica in the central part of the city.<sup>34</sup>

The most impressive (and best studied) monument of late antique Xanthus is a great basilical church, built in a prosperous residential district east of the acropolis. It stood directly over a cistern and ruins of buildings with stuccoed walls (apparently houses) of the second and third centuries. These had been destroyed by fire, and their ruins filled with rubble to provide the terrace on which the church stood.<sup>35</sup>

The new church was remarkable for its size, 74 × 30 m—unusually large for this region—and its rich decor. It had the normal plan of three aisles, atrium, and narthex, but with the novelty of a tetraconch baptistery and adjacent rooms which were entered from the north aisle. The apse, which contains a synthronon, was paved with marble, the nave and aisles with mosaic, and the narthex with both marble and mosaic. Much finely carved marble, including capitals imported from Proconessus, completed the rich decoration. The atrium, whose central stone-paved court was surrounded by colonnades with painted walls and a paving of geometric mosaics, led to an impressive entrance gate on the main street of the district.<sup>36</sup>

The most extensive new construction took place on the Hellenistic acropolis, which had been laid out in the early third century on a regular plan, with two main streets intersecting at right angles, and lesser streets in an orthogonal pattern. This district con-

<sup>31</sup>Marinus, *Vita Procli*, ed. J. Boissonade (Leipzig, 1814), 6, 8.

<sup>32</sup>*CRAI* (1956), 159 f; *RE*, "Xanthos," 1407.

<sup>33</sup>*CRAI* (1954), 113; *RE*, "Xanthos," 1407; The mosaics are now housed in the Antalya museum.

<sup>34</sup>Church in Agora: *CRAI* (1956), 160; *RE*, "Xanthos," 1407; basilica: *ibid*.

<sup>35</sup>*TürkArkDerg* 19-1 (1970), 171; *X Kazi* (1988), 2.109.

<sup>36</sup>*TürkArkDerg* 19-2 (1970), 171; *TürkArkDerg* 20 (1973), 119 f; *TürkArkDerg* 24-2 (1977), 64 f; J.-P. Sodini, "Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos," *Colloque* (1980), 119–48, at 119 ff.

tained its own marketplace, baths, and numerous houses, most datable to late antiquity. Among the largest structures is a basilical church with outbuildings, apparently a monastery, in the center of the district; it has not yet been studied.<sup>37</sup>

The whole city, including the Lycian and Hellenistic acropolis and the eastern residential district, was surrounded by a circuit of walls, Hellenistic in origin, which were maintained and repaired through late antiquity.<sup>38</sup>

The remains indicate considerable prosperity under the Romans, continuing into late antiquity when the city evidently reached its greatest extent. Extensive finds of coins from the third through the early seventh century offer confirmation. Their sequence comes to an end with the issues of Heraclius (602–641), under whom Asia Minor suffered the effects of a devastating war with the Persians. The coins thus suggest a great decline in activity at Xanthus in the seventh century; evidence from the east basilica strikingly illustrates it. The whole church perished in a violent fire around the middle of the century. The latest coin found in the debris is of 641, suggesting perhaps destruction after the battle of Phoenix in 655 when Byzantium was no longer able to protect the Lycian coast.<sup>39</sup> For centuries thereafter, the basilica lay in ruins. The church in the agora was also destroyed in the Dark Ages and not rebuilt, but replaced by a graveyard and small oratory.<sup>40</sup> Such destruction, accompanied by failure to rebuild, suggests that Xanthus was ravaged by Arab attacks and contracted from its former expanses to the narrow acropolis, and that the life of the ancient city, in a recognizably Greco-Roman form, came to an abrupt and permanent end.

The major remains of Byzantine Xanthus are the heavy fortifications which surround the Lycian acropolis. They exhibit varied styles of construction which imply long continued use. The earliest phase is represented by the powerful north wall with its triangular prow-shaped towers faced with reused marble blocks arranged in regular rows (Fig. 22). This wall closely resembles the inner circuit at Ankara, a fortification datable to the time of Constans II (641–668). The walls at Xanthus, therefore, may be seen as the response of Byzantium to the overwhelming Arab attacks, and an effort to save at least one strategic part of the city. They represent the widespread phenomenon of contraction of cities and their replacement by hilltop fortresses.<sup>41</sup> Later repairs to the walls, in small stones with brick, indicate a long period of occupation.<sup>42</sup>

For four hundred years, Xanthus consisted of this castle, perhaps with scattered dwellings outside. It was only centuries after its destruction that the east basilica rose from its ruins. Part of its north aisle was razed to form the vestibule for the medieval church which was installed in the former baptistry, now modified by the addition of a new apse and side aisles. Although minuscule (about 13 m square), the church was decor-

<sup>37</sup>No details have been published; see the plan in *RE*, "Xanthos," 1377, and the survey of the district in *XI Kazı* (1989), 178 f. There is no reason to identify this monastery with that of Kounin, *Vita Ioannicii* (*ActaSS*, Nov.II.1) 409, as in *RE*, "Xanthos," 1408; the context makes it clear that Kounin was in Lydia.

<sup>38</sup>*RE*, "Xanthos," 1404, 1406; cf. *CRAI* (1951), 64; the walls have not been surveyed or published.

<sup>39</sup>Coin finds summarized: H. Metzger, *Xanthos II: L'Acropole lycienne* (Paris, 1963), 25; *RE*, "Xanthos," 1406. Coins from the basilica: *TürkArkDerg* 21-2 (1974), 133 f.

<sup>40</sup>*CRAI* (1956), 160.

<sup>41</sup>For the walls of Ankara and other contemporary fortifications, see C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria, 1986), 131–42.

<sup>42</sup>Acropolis walls: *Xanthos II*, 3 f, 15, 84; *CRAI* (1956), 159.

ated in style: its walls bore frescoes of saints and bishops and a plaster incrustation, its floors were paved with cut marble, and it received an elaborately sculptured marble iconostasis. Other parts of the old church were also put to use: the narthex was divided into compartments, and small rooms were installed in the atrium. The rest of the building appears to have been abandoned.<sup>43</sup> The style of the decoration suggests a date in the tenth or eleventh century; finds of coins provide more precision. After a long gap since Heraclius, their sequence resumes in 1028 and continues until 1081.<sup>44</sup> The church clearly had been out of use since the seventh century (it contains no decoration attributable to the intermediate period) before being rebuilt in the eleventh, a time of prosperity especially manifest in this region.

This happy situation did not long endure, however, for the church perished in another fire and was never rebuilt. Coins and pottery in the destruction level suggest a date late in the eleventh century, the age when the battle of Manzikert had led to a general anarchy. There is no later Byzantine evidence from Xanthus. Activity only resumed (briefly) at the church in the fourteenth century, after the Ottoman conquest. The record of other parts of the city is silent.

Three miles southwest of Xanthus stood the LETOON, seat of the worship of Leto and of the league into which the Lycian cities had long been organized. Its complex of religious buildings, greatly enlarged by the Romans, comprised the Ionic temple of Leto, a Doric temple of Apollo with a smaller temple of Artemis between them, curiously built around a natural rock outcropping. They were approached by a sacred way lined with monuments; beyond it lay a vast semicircular nymphaeum dedicated by Hadrian. The whole ensemble was surrounded by a stoa which on its north side gave access to a series of rooms, one of them dedicated to the imperial cult. The development of this religious site is parallel to that of Xanthus and may serve as a further illustration of its history.<sup>45</sup>

The Letoon suffered serious damage early in the period when the sacred way shows evidence of a major destruction followed by a rather shoddy restoration of its monuments.<sup>46</sup> The latest of the damaged monuments is of the early third century; restoration of such tributes to a pagan past seems appropriate to a time before the triumph of the Church. It is therefore likely that the destruction happened in the late third century, perhaps the result of an earthquake or the ravages of the Goths who were then afflicting the southern coast of Asia Minor.

The effects of this first disaster were remedied on a poor scale, but not for long, for the advent of Christianity brought neglect though not abandonment to the site. The main gate of the sanctuary, the west propylaea, was destroyed by fire in the third century. Subsequently, the entry was raised with steps of spoils, reflecting a change in the ground level. This was destroyed in the fourth century, and the brief period of occupation which followed did not last beyond the end of that century.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup>*TürkArkDerg* 19-1 (1970), 171; *TürkArkDerg* 20-1 (1973), 119-21; *TürkArkDerg* 21-2 (1974), 133 f; *TürkArkDerg* 25 (1980), 193 ff; and, most important and detailed, Sodini, "Une iconostase"; for the frescoes, see C. Jolivet-Levy, "Peintures byzantines à Xanthos," *JÖB* 32/5 (1982), 73-84.

<sup>44</sup>Sodini, "Une iconostase," 148.

<sup>45</sup>For the site and its development through the Roman period, see C. Le Roy, "Le développement monumental du Létœon de Xanthos," *RA* (1991), 341-51.

<sup>46</sup>*RA* (1966), 109-11; (1970) 312-14. *TürkArkDerg* 20-1 (1973), 117; 22-1 (1975) 79.

<sup>47</sup>*VII Kazı* (1985), 433 f.

Likewise, it appears that the nymphaeum of Hadrian was ruined and buried in mud, the products of the perennial silting that menaced the region. Late antique occupation over its ruins is attested by extensive finds of pottery. Abandonment of such a prime monument indicates a fundamental change visible also in the temples. The large Ionic temple remained standing, but the danger its stones might pose to the faithful was alleviated by crosses and other Christian graffiti carved on them. Its pavement was eventually taken away, its floor dug up, and the trench thus created used as a dump. A plate of the seventh century gives some indication of the period of this activity.<sup>48</sup> The adjacent temples, however, were destroyed and their material broken up for reuse.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, many ancient monuments of the sanctuary were demolished to become building material in walls behind the northwest portico; others appear there as foundations for poor late antique houses.<sup>50</sup>

Spoils from the temple were also employed in the one structure which indicates a positive aspect of late antique life amid this desolation. A basilical church of some 30 × 20 m was built immediately to the east of the abandoned nymphaeum, perhaps to take advantage of the sacred spring which issued forth there. The church had an atrium but no narthex; its apse contained a synthronon and an altar table supported on a reused fluted column. The decoration was rich: sheets of marble covered the synthronon, the nave was paved with *opus sectile* and the aisles with mosaics. The south aisle was connected to a triconch chapel whose mosaic inscription suggests that it (and perhaps the whole church) was dedicated to "the Angels." Numerous side buildings, including a grave chamber and apsed rooms which may have been chapels, suggest that this was a monastery, while adjacent rooms contain so many fragments of glass that they have been plausibly identified as a glass factory. Investigation of bones found in adjacent tombs reveals a high proportion of men, as would be expected in a site which contained a monastery. Finds of coins and pottery indicate that the church was built in the mid-sixth century and abandoned in the early seventh.<sup>51</sup> Since the latest coins are of Heraclius, it is natural to associate this abandonment with the troubles attendant upon the Persian wars.

At some later date, the site saw further activity. The arcades of the church were blocked, and new rough paving laid. This reuse, whatever its nature, may be associated with crudely built walls of fieldstones and late antique spoils over the Doric temple and the final destruction of the Ionic temple. In both cases, stones were moved about and propped on wooden blocks so that the metal of their clamps could be extracted.<sup>52</sup> None of this activity has been dated.

The later history of the Letoon is difficult to reconstruct, but the general outline is clear: damage in the late third century; profound change connected with the end of paganism; construction of the basilica under Justinian; abandonment in the early seventh century; and partial reoccupation, on a much reduced scale, in the Middle Ages. Neither the extent of the late antique settlement, which included some industrial activity, nor its continuity before the sixth century, has yet been determined.

<sup>48</sup>E. Hansen and C. Le Roy, "Au Létoon de Xanthos, Les deux temples de Léo," *RA* (1976), 317–36, at 326, 336.

<sup>49</sup>*RA* (1974), 327, 332 f.

<sup>50</sup>*RA* (1970), 307. *TürkArkDerg* 24 (1977), 62 f; 25 (1980), 188, 192.

<sup>51</sup>*RA* (1966), 109–11; (1970), 312–16. Bones: *XI Kazı* (1989), 182.

<sup>52</sup>*RA* (1966), 311; (1974), 327, 332 f.

Below the Letoon, the Xanthus River has created a broad alluvial plain with sand dunes at its mouth that obstruct landing and settlement. On the hills overlooking the western extremity of the plain, about a mile from the sea, stands the fortress of Cydna. This was never an independent town, but lay in the territory of Xanthus.

The Hellenistic settlement of CYDNA was built to control the approach to the Xanthus Valley.<sup>53</sup> In desuetude under Roman security, it saw a resurgence of activity in the mid-sixth century when a basilical church was built adjacent to the eastern part of the walls. It was constructed largely of spoils from the Hellenistic walls, with its apse faced with good cut stone; the interior walls were covered with a simple geometric design. A rectangular chamber with a double apse on the south side of the church, probably a baptistery, offers a direct parallel with the basilica of the Letoon. Outside the wall stood another church whose remains have proved uninformative.

In the course of time, the main church fell into ruin and was rebuilt on a new plan. Its walls were strengthened, solid piers replaced the internal arcades, and a central dome was installed to make it into a church of the cross-in-square plan. Stylistic parallels have suggested a date in the tenth or eleventh century. This is probably the period which saw reconstruction of the old Hellenistic walls: breaches were plugged, dilapidated towers razed, and a new crenellated parapet added.<sup>54</sup> The site was abandoned in the Turkish period. Although the evidence is scanty, Cydna, like the other sites of the region, apparently enjoyed two periods of prosperity, in the sixth and the tenth or eleventh centuries.

#### PATARA

Patara was one of the most important harbors of Lycia, a Hellenistic naval base and an administrative center under the Romans, who adorned it with the usual complement of imposing public buildings. At that time, it functioned as the port of Xanthus, whose access to the sea was otherwise through the mouth of the Xanthus River, subject to silting.<sup>55</sup> Patara had a protected harbor on which Hadrian built an enormous granary, evidence for extensive trade with the interior of Lycia and the Mediterranean. The harbor now is a marsh, the ruins largely covered with sand. Investigation has therefore been extremely limited, but recent excavations are beginning to give a more substantial impression of the city.<sup>56</sup>

Patara passed late antiquity in an almost unrelieved obscurity. It was the setting of Methodius of Olympus' dialogue on the Resurrection (which took place in the house of a local doctor, Aglaophon), the birthplace of St. Nicholas of Myra, and the temporary residence of Pope Silverius, who was exiled there in 537.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup>For this site, see J.-P. Adam, "La basilique byzantine de Kydna de Lycie," *RA* (1977), 53–78.

<sup>54</sup>The rebuilding of the fortifications seems more appropriate to the second period of the church than the first, especially since some of its crenellations still stand. Crenellations are often visible on medieval fortresses, but hardly ever survive from the time of Justinian when, in any case, there is no evidence for fortification of this coast.

<sup>55</sup>Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV.81.

<sup>56</sup>For the remains, see Bean, 82–91; cf. G. K. Sams, "Investigations at Patara in Lycia 1974," *Archaeology* 28 (1975), 202–5. For the significance of the granary in terms of communications between the coast and the interior, see D. French (below, note 114, first reference), and for its role in the international trade see Zimmermann, "Die lykischen Häfen."

<sup>57</sup>Methodius of Olympus, ed. G.N. Bonwetsch (Leipzig, 1917), 219; Nicholas, *Vita Nicolai Myrensis*, ap. Anrich I.114; Silverius, *Liberatus Diaconus*, *Breviarium*, PL 68.1040.

In the wide area of its remains, only two buildings, a large basilical church in the western part of the city and a smaller church on the acropolis, are certainly to be attributed to the period. The basilica is of a remarkable plan, unique in Lycia. A wide building of  $33 \times 43$  m, its interior is divided into five aisles, of which the southernmost was occupied by a series of rooms. The two-story central colonnade terminated in L-shaped pillars of a type which suggest that a dome stood before the apse. Such a plan is found in buildings of the time of Justinian, a date confirmed by the discovery of capitals in a characteristic style. The walls were of rubble and spoils, a mosaic covered at least the central nave. The church may be associated with a group of churches represented by Basilica B at Philippi, built around 540, and be seen as an unusual local example of architectural innovation. It suggests that here, too, there was considerable activity in the sixth century.<sup>58</sup>

In the succeeding age, the name of Patara appears more frequently because of its location on the sea lanes between Byzantium and the Arabs. The Anglo-Saxon St. Willibald spent the bitterly cold winter of 724 there on his way to the Holy Land. In the tenth century, it was an imperial naval base, one of the cities of the Cibyrrhaeot theme. The English pilgrim Saewulf in 1102, and the Russian Daniel four years later, visited the port, which appears in the geographical work of the Arab Idrisi (1117) and in the narrative of the Third Crusade.<sup>59</sup> Although they reveal nothing about the city, these sources reflect the continuing importance of the harbor.

The medieval remains, which consist of fortifications, are more informative. The Byzantine town occupied a tongue of land which projected into the harbor. It was protected by a circuit of walls near the theater, which appear to have continued along the harbor, and as far as the Roman city gate to the north. The side openings of that gate were blocked, and doors inserted into the central archway.<sup>60</sup> The walls (Fig. 23) are of mortared rubble faced with carefully arranged marble spoils—architectural fragments, sculpture, and inscriptions—in a style commonly employed in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>61</sup> The extensive use of spoils suggest that large parts of the city were then in ruins.

These walls include only part of the ancient city, but encompass about twice the area of the second circuit (Fig. 24), which is still well preserved with its towers, crenellations, and low *proteichisma*. The varying styles of this rampart indicate at least two stages of construction, of which the earlier could belong to the age of the Comneni, and the later Turkish.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Acropolis church: *XI Kazi* (1989), 2,4: basilica: *XII Kazi* (1990), 2.37 f, with plan p. 53. For related churches, see R. Krauthimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 238–57, esp. 253.

<sup>59</sup>Willibald, *Hodoeporicon*, ed. T. Tobler in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), 20; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematis*, 78; Saewulf, ed. and tr. Bishop of Clifton (London, 1896), 4; Daniel, 7; Idrisi, tr. P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1840), II.134; Roger of Hoveden, III, 159 (= Benedict, 197).

<sup>60</sup>Traces of “Byzantine” walls at the great triple Roman arch, a considerable distance to the north, may have been connected with this fortification. Their remains, however, are few and enigmatic: see *XI Kazi* (1989), 2.7.

<sup>61</sup>For the walls, see Sams, “Investigations at Patara,” and for their dating, see Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications*, 131–40.

<sup>62</sup>I suggest this dating on the basis of personal inspection and comparison with datable fortifications of Lycia and Caria.

At some point in the Byzantine period, the great basilica was ruined, and a small chapel was built into the north aisle. Only about 10 m long, it consists of an apsidal room and an outer chamber, and was constructed of material taken from the old basilica. No chronology has been established.<sup>63</sup>

Although little of Byzantine Patara has survived or been identified, the walls at least suggest a development in which the city contracted notably in the Dark Ages. In this, they confirm the statement of the biographer of St. Nicholas of Myra (a native of Patara), that the city, once one of the most famous of Lycia, preserved only the appearance of a village in this time, the ninth century.<sup>64</sup> The city of the later Middle Ages was evidently even smaller. Although one of the major ports of Byzantine Lycia, Patara seems, like many others, to have been more of a fortress than a city.

#### THE REGION OF APERLAE

The obscure city of Aperlae, the southernmost of Lycia, almost exactly in the center of the coastal region, has virtually no history. It is mentioned chiefly by geographical writers, but Roman inscriptions reveal that it was of some importance as head of a sympolity or federation of local towns, Isinda and Apollonia in the interior and Simena on the coast to the east. Its poorly known remains, however, are extremely well preserved, as are those on the neighboring coasts and islands. They enable an image of the city and its territory to be reconstructed. The abundance of settlement in this district, where little if any agriculture is possible and where water is extremely scarce, attests to an impressive late antique prosperity derived from trade. In most respects, this region resembles that of Telmessus, with which it offers important parallels of development.

APERLAE itself is a relatively small town at the head of a long bay flanked by limestone hills covered with maquis. The site, which rises from the shore, is surrounded by fortification walls which protect a large number of ruined and virtually unexplored buildings. Many of them are evidently late antique, remains of a period which seems to have been the most active in the life of the city. These remains are the sole source for the history of the city. The written record consists merely of its appearance in the list of Lycian cities of Hierocles, from the time of Justinian, and in the later lists of Byzantine bishoprics.

Only one postclassical inscription has survived (late inscriptions are in any case remarkably rare in the whole region), a milestone from the time of Diocletian.<sup>65</sup> This shows that Aperlae, seemingly isolated from the interior by a high ridge, was in fact on a road which presumably led to Apollonia and the interior district of Cyanaeae. Construction of such a road reflects the importance of trade; Aperlae was evidently the place where the agricultural products of the interior were brought to the coast for shipment elsewhere. Since there is virtually no agricultural land in the vicinity, trade would have been necessary to justify the existence of such a place.

The city is surrounded by walls, which are Hellenistic in origin.<sup>66</sup> They originally

<sup>63</sup> *XI Kazi* (1990), 2.38.

<sup>64</sup> *Vita Nic. Myr.*, in Anrich I.114.

<sup>65</sup> Published most recently in D. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, 2 (Oxford, 1988), no. 185.

<sup>66</sup> For a general description, see Bean, 101–3 and R. Carter, "The Submerged Seaport of Aperlae, Turkey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 (1978), 177–85. Most of the following remarks are based on personal observation whose results are summarized in Foss, "Coasts," 226–28.

enclosed only the upper part of the city, an area of about  $160 \times 200$  m, but were subsequently extended to the shore, raised where they were dilapidated, and reinforced by towers; a new gate was added at this time (Fig. 25). All the masonry seems typically late antique, resembling that of buildings elsewhere in the region, but not permitting any precise dating. Only the reuse of the milestone of Diocletian in one of the towers suggests a date toward the end of the period.

The area within the walls is densely covered with ruined buildings, most of them in a late antique style. Many are houses, others, which rise higher, may be civic buildings (Fig. 26). Among them is the bath near the shore which contains several rooms and is faced with an imitation Hellenistic masonry (Fig. 27). Most remarkably, the city continues far below the present shore line, to a distance of some 50 m. This sunken city area contains remains of substantial buildings along regular streets (Fig. 28), some of them evidently late antique from their use of spoils.

Two churches stand within the walls. The lower, adjacent to the junction of the new and old walls, is a large basilica built of massive spoils, with remains of decoration in the form of fragmentary mosaics, architectural sculpture (Fig. 29), and chancel plaques. These appear to be of the fifth or sixth centuries. The other church, at the top of the site, is a larger basilica, probably the cathedral (see Fig. 32). Its walls are of regular mortared rubble, with rare traces of interior decoration of the fifth-sixth centuries.

Another church lay just outside the walls, to the east, adjacent to the necropolis. It, too, is a basilica, with sculptured decoration suitable to the sixth century (Fig. 30). Little remains of its superstructure. Beyond it stretch many "Lycian" tombs, with only a few late antique vaulted grave chambers among them. Most remarkable, though, are traces found beyond the west wall, where masses of broken pottery, most of it late Roman combed ware, lay strewn amid masses of shells of the murex (Fig. 31). These suggest that fishing for purple, and perhaps the manufacture of the extremely expensive dye, were part of the economic activities of the city. If so, they would do much to account for its evident prosperity in late antiquity.

Most of the site is strewn with late Roman pottery, among which no glazed medieval shards were to be seen. The remains suggest that the city contracted to an acropolis in the Middle Ages, perhaps after a period of abandonment (there are no remains which may clearly be assigned to the Dark Ages). In this new fortification, the upper city walls were extensively remodeled and connected to the cathedral whose openings were all blocked to make it part of a new citadel (Fig. 32). The masonry employed—mortared rubble with small bits of brick surrounding the stones (Fig. 33)—has close parallels in Caria, where it appears to be Lascarid (1204–61).<sup>67</sup> By that time, however, Aperlae was presumably long lost to Byzantium. Whether it somehow survived as a Byzantine enclave, or whether the Turks made uncharacteristic use of similar masonry, cannot yet be determined.

The remains of Aperlae, even if they offer little in the way of clear chronology, do establish that the place was very prosperous in late antiquity, apparently reaching its

<sup>67</sup>The closest parallels are at Kyr Vasili and Pedalo on the Carian coast (Foss, "Coasts," 217) and at Melanoudion, the Byzantine fort of Heraclea ad Latmum, whose dating is reasonably secure: see Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications*, 153.

height at that time. Subsequently, like most sites of this period, it shrank or was even abandoned, to revive on a much smaller scale, perhaps as late as the thirteenth century.

APOLLONIA, one of the interior members of the Aperlitan federation, and most probably a dependent town on its territory by late antiquity, has been surveyed.<sup>68</sup> It stands on a hill below the high ridge which separates it from Aperlae, only 3.5 km away in a straight line, but much farther by the circuitous route which connected them. The place has no history but its name is assured by inscriptions.

The site, unlike Aperlae, contains a theater, as well as remains of public and private buildings, Lycian and Roman tombs, and a wall, apparently Hellenistic. The hilltop contains two churches, one built above the theater, and a small chapel in the necropolis. Traces of houses extend down the slopes. None of these buildings has been dated, but they appear to indicate substantial late antique settlement. Rubble walls added to the fortifications may be of the Byzantine period. Such limited information is only adequate to suggest that late antique Apollonia had the resources to construct churches, and that occupation may have continued into, or been resumed in, the Middle Ages.

The territory of Aperlae also included a section of coast to the east, with the town of Simena and the adjacent long island of Dolichiste. Although the remains of Simena, which include a theater, bath, and city walls, are mostly classical, the island presents another remarkable example of late antique maritime prosperity.

DOLICHISTE, now called Kekova, is a narrow rocky island about 8 km long. Like most of this coastal region, it lacks a good supply of fresh water, so that its inhabitants had to depend on cisterns and reservoirs during the long summer drought. On the other hand, it is in a splendid location for commerce. Together with the adjacent gulf of Tristomo (which will be considered below, with the territory of Cyaneae), it offers a large and well-protected harbor, the best in the region along with that of Telmessus. Roads connect the adjacent mainland with the interior. The location favored trade, which would have been a necessity for any local inhabitants, since they not only lacked water but had no arable land at all.

The island is virtually covered with ruins, which have not been excavated or surveyed.<sup>69</sup> Most prominent among them is a large basilica with an unusually finely constructed apse (Fig. 34).<sup>70</sup> Beyond it, to the south, is an extensive site with another large church (Fig. 35). The whole north shore of the island is lined with houses, each with its own cistern, and occasional churches. All the remains appear to be late antique.

The ruins extend to an islet off the west tip of Dolichiste, which contains a three-aisled basilica (Fig. 36) with carved decoration of high quality (Fig. 37), apparently of the fifth century. Next to it is a cruciform baptismal font once enclosed in an octagonal structure. A vaulted building of uncertain purpose that stands on the hill to the south employs late antique masonry over Hellenistic foundations. Taken together, all these remains pro-

<sup>68</sup>For what follows, see W. Wurster, "Antike Siedlungen in Lykien," *AA* (1976), 23–47 at 37–44, with plans and illustrations. Unfortunately, the author does not distinguish between late antique and Byzantine remains. Few conclusions, therefore, may be drawn about the development of the postclassical site. For the relations between the interior settlement Apollonia and the port Aperlae, see Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 199–211.

<sup>69</sup>The following is written from personal inspection; see Foss, "Coasts," 229 f.

<sup>70</sup>Described, with plan and illustration, in Harrison, "Churches," 142.

vide yet another example of a flourishing maritime culture, with a substantial population which must have lived from commerce. Now, when trade is no longer present, the place is deserted.

This district reappears in history in the Middle Ages. Philip Augustus, on his return from the Third Crusade in 1191, stopped at “Ckackoiis,” between Myra and Castellorizo. The location shows that the deformed name represents the Greek Kakkabos (“partridge,” a common name in these parts), from which the modern Kekova is derived. In fact, though the island is now called Kekova, the name was in Ottoman times applied to the mainland port of Simena, which is therefore the place described. According to the account of Philip’s expedition, “he came to a good port, secure in all weathers and winds, called Ckackoiis; in former times, on both sides of this port were large and beautiful cities called Cake; great ruins of walls are there till the present day, but no one lives in them because of the fear of pirates.”<sup>70a</sup> In other words, the coastal sites were completely deserted by the twelfth century, when piracy infested these shores. Actually, they had probably been abandoned by the Dark Ages, since they contain no trace of medieval settlement. They thus provide a striking example of the desolation of the area after late antiquity, and of the enormous contrast between that age and the following.

#### CYANEAE

The coastal territory of Aperlae stretches past the entrance of a broad bay, some 5 km long, protected from the wind by two rocky promontories which almost enclose it. This contains the port of TRISTOMON, which had some importance in the sixth century on the maritime routes across the Mediterranean. St. Nicholas of Holy Zion (whose career will be considered in the following section, on his native Myra) found an Egyptian ship bound for Ascalon here, and hoped to disembark here on his return in a ship bound from Ascalon to Rhodes.<sup>71</sup> Remains, which consist of a gateway with a cross on the lintel (Fig. 38), a necropolis church, and an isolated chapel, are not correspondingly impressive.<sup>72</sup> The shores of the bay, however, preserve traces of dense settlement, most of it apparently late antique.

In spite of its great natural advantages, Tristomon, like many of these coastal sites, lacks agricultural land and fresh water. Existence is precarious; a town here needs trade to survive. The presence of international traffic in the sixth century shows that trade was active, most of it then, as in more modern times, in the timber and agricultural products of the interior. Tristomon was the port of the small inland city of Cyaneae, on whose territory it stood.<sup>73</sup> Port and city were connected by a road hewn in the rocks, which reflected the importance of the relations between them.<sup>74</sup> Without the products of the

<sup>70a</sup>Roger of Hoveden, III, 158 (= Benedict, 195).

<sup>71</sup>VNS (see below, note 90), caps. 27, 37.

<sup>72</sup>General description: Bean, 115 f, Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 212 ff; late antique remains: Foss, “Coasts,” 229 f; chapel: Harrison, “Churches,” 144 f.

<sup>73</sup>Inscriptions from Teimioussa (the ancient name for Tristomo) occasionally name Myra instead of Cyaneae, as if the two cities shared or disputed jurisdiction here. Detailed study of them, however, has shown convincingly that the port belonged to Cyaneae: see Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 212–19.

<sup>74</sup>Briefly described in Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 214.

interior, the port could not survive, and without the port, the inland region could not prosper.

The territory of Cyaneae was a broken country whose rocky ridges separated a few small plains.<sup>75</sup> It formed a rough triangle, of about 20 × 10 km, bounded by the Myrus River and its tributary, the Fellen Cay, and by the ranges above the coast; most of the coast itself belonged to Aperlae and Myra. This isolated region, connected to the outside world only by footpaths and the road to the port, has limited economic possibilities. Some eighty percent of the land is mountainous, suitable only for producing timber and brushwood for charcoal, and providing pasture for goats. The district has no rivers or permanent sources of water; its population depended on cisterns.

The region is of interest here because part of it—the 7 square km immediately adjacent to the center, Cyaneae—has been intensively surveyed.<sup>76</sup> The results reveal a much denser occupation in antiquity than now, with an intensive exploitation of the land attested by the remains of terracing and olive presses, and enable much of the development of the city to be traced.

Beyond its bare mention as a city in the sixth century and as a bishopric through the ninth, Cyaneae passed these periods in complete obscurity. Its remains, however, provide some valuable information.<sup>77</sup> The city was built on two hills which formed part of a ridge overlooking a small plain. The western hill bore the theater, while the eastern, the fortified acropolis, contained the main settlement. This included an agora with shops beside it, a bath, and a library, all of Roman date, and numerous closely packed houses that show continuity of occupation into late antiquity. Possession of a normal range of civic buildings advertised the municipal status of Cyaneae, but it was never a large place; its walls surround an area of about 4.4 hectares.

Late antiquity, a flourishing time here as elsewhere, brought the usual changes associated with the arrival of Christianity. In this period, the city maintained its ancient area, and even expanded outside the walls. Its Hellenistic fortifications were extensively rebuilt, with a facing of carefully arranged spoils and a filling of mortared rubble, perhaps during the troubles of the late third century.<sup>78</sup> Within this enclosed area, as noted, houses were maintained or rebuilt, and the residential district expanded beyond it into the former necropolis.<sup>79</sup> The greatest evidence of prosperity, though, comes from the churches.

<sup>75</sup>For the history and historical geography of the region, see Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 67–101, and for the physical environment, V. Hohfeld in F. Kolb et al., “Kyaneai 1989,” *IstMitt* 41 (1991), 187–264 (henceforth, Kolb, “Kyaneai”) 247–60.

<sup>76</sup>See the comprehensive report, Kolb, “Kyaneai,” and the summary of the 1990 season in *IX Araştırma* (1991), 21–45. Remains of the period of interest here are discussed in F. Kolb et al., “Spätantike und byzantinische Besiedlung auf dem Gebiet der lykischen Polis Kyaneai,” *Klio* 73 (1991), 563–85 (henceforth, Kolb, “Besiedlung”).

<sup>77</sup>History and general description: Kolb, “Kyaneai,” 198–202, 211 ff.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 204–9; the rebuilding is dated by analogy. Such walls, however, could belong equally as well to the seventh as the third century, since both periods use spoils in a similar fashion: see my remarks in Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications*, 137. Distinction could only be made on the basis of careful examination (this is the one city site here discussed that I have not visited); the photographs published in the reports are inadequate to support discussion.

<sup>79</sup>Necropolis: Kolb, “Besiedlung,” 579.

The late antique city possessed at least three substantial basilical churches.<sup>80</sup> One of these, which stood near the agora and whose apse alone survives, appears to have been the cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Much better preserved is the church at the south end of the acropolis, a three-aisled basilica with a polygonal apse. It appears to date to the sixth century. The largest church stood outside the walls, in the necropolis, and thus probably dedicated to a martyr. It is a three-aisled basilica with double narthex, carefully built of spoils, many of them from the temple of Eleuthera, chief goddess of the city. It has been assigned to the period around 500. These churches witness not only the Christianization of a relatively remote area, but an economic success which enabled it to support their construction. The city seems to have reached its most flourishing time in the sixth century.

Since evidence for the Dark Ages (unless the rebuilding of the walls belongs to this time), is so far completely lacking, it is impossible to determine the fate of Cyaneae in the centuries which followed late antiquity. In fact, there is no reasonably well-dated evidence for 500 years, until the Comnene period. When material is again available, it is clear that the city had undergone major changes.

The walls were again rebuilt, with some reduction of their circuit in the eastern part of the acropolis, in a style which suggests the age of the Comneni.<sup>81</sup> This time also saw the construction of several small chapels, some new, others built into the ruins of the former grander churches, and thus witnesses of major change.<sup>82</sup>

The new chapels, simple single-aisled structures not much more than 15 m long, stand in the northern part of the acropolis, near the walls. Comparative study has suggested that they were built in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. The others represent two different phenomena. In one case, a new, tiny chapel (about 7 × 5 m) was built into the ruins of the former cathedral. In the others, the basilicas in the acropolis and necropolis were rebuilt with intrusive walls of mortared rubble on a much smaller scale. None of these has been dated to anything more specific than the "Middle Byzantine" period. All cases, of course, represent substantial reduction, and imply a period of real decline before they were built. It would seem that the Dark Ages had brought serious contraction, if not abandonment, to Cyaneae, and that recovery came only with the Comneni. Even then, it was on a small scale, compared to the state of the city in late antiquity.

The area immediately adjacent to Cyaneae was densely occupied in antiquity: the survey revealed some two hundred sites, separated by distances of only 100 to 700 m, in an area of 7 square km. Many of these show continuing occupation in late antiquity attested by rebuilding of existing structures or construction of churches.<sup>83</sup> In some cases,

<sup>80</sup>See B. Kupke in Kolb, "Kyaneai," 213–17, and especially the discussion of Kolb, "Besiedlung," 574–79. The chapel on the highest point of the hill, Church F, has not been investigated, and is therefore not discussed here.

<sup>81</sup>I suggest this on the basis of their description as being of mortared rubble (apparently without a distinctive facing) and on the illustration (Kolb, "Kyaneai," Taf. 31.4), showing a tower that seems to bear a strong resemblance to identifiable Comnene masonry elsewhere in Lycia.

<sup>82</sup>For what follows, see *ibid.*, 198–202, 211 ff.

<sup>83</sup>For what follows, see M. Miller in *ibid.*, 219–42, and Kolb, "Besiedlung," 579–82. The latter concentrates, in a rather old-fashioned way, on the churches alone.

there is also evidence of medieval occupation. Unfortunately, the postclassical structures are of such an undistinguished masonry of mortared rubble that dating them has proved extremely problematic.<sup>84</sup> Because of this, it is very difficult to follow changes in the pattern of settlement, though some points do emerge.

The antique settlements consisted of isolated farmsteads, some with several buildings and often associated with fortifications and with terracing and olive presses. Some of these show evidence of reuse or reoccupation in late antiquity or the Middle Ages. In addition, there are many smaller, simple farm buildings, typically with cisterns and olive presses. Many of these appear to belong to late antiquity.<sup>85</sup>

Some of the sites have simple single-aisled chapels. They are evidently Byzantine, perhaps of the Commene period, but dating such structures is very difficult. In one case, two chapels stand at opposite ends of a substantial settlement 1500 m southwest of Cyaneae, on the road to the coast. Its poorly preserved houses may thus also belong to this period.

The evidence does not yet permit sure conclusions to be drawn about the territory of Cyaneae. It is only possible, for the moment, to say that it was certainly occupied during the periods of interest here. There seems to have been considerable activity both in late antiquity and the Byzantine period, but continuity between them—if there was any—cannot yet be studied. In any case, it is clear that this continued to be a successful agricultural district. It seems likely that the sites of this small and unpromising mountain region, which has been virtually deserted except by nomads for the last eight hundred years or so, survived and prospered by their connection with the coast, along the road cut into the rocks leading down to Tristomon.<sup>86</sup> The small plains probably enabled it to grow enough food for self-sufficiency, while a surplus could have been provided by the olive oil attested by the remains and the timber which was then far more abundant in these mountains.

The example of Cyaneae itself suggests that the sixth century was the most flourishing time here as in so many other regions, and that the Dark Ages brought considerable change, if not actual desertion.<sup>87</sup> In any case, the site—and quite evidently the region around it—had recovered by the twelfth century, though on a far more modest scale than before. Despite the gaps in our understanding of it, this district provides an

<sup>84</sup>The surveyors attempt to distinguish late antique and medieval remains, but do not indicate the criteria they use; the photographs they publish are not adequate to support an independent judgment. I do not know whether the inhabitants of this district, like their brethren of the coast, ever employed masonry which imitates earlier styles (for that, see Fig. 20, discussed in Foss, "Coasts," 222, and Fig. 27). If so, the number of late antique sites might be much higher than supposed.

<sup>85</sup>Kolb, "Kyaneai," 230, but the dating seems based only on general historical considerations from south-east Europe.

<sup>86</sup>The road has not been dated, but suggestive analogy may point to late antiquity, when similar roads were built from Myra into its mountain territory: see below, note 114.

<sup>87</sup>Note that the development postulated here for the city, and by implication for the region, differs from the conclusions of the archaeologists. They claim that the region maintained a high density of settlement without reduction through the Byzantine period: Kolb, "Besiedlung," 583 ff. The evidence simply seems not to support such a conclusion, and I find myself unable to understand the statement that the reduction of the churches (with small chapels built into evidently ruined larger structures) does not indicate a demographic decline (*ibid.*, 585). As part of their general interpretation, the archaeologists follow the theories of Martin Harrison about coastal decline and inland growth, on which see note 185 below.

example which bears comparison with the larger and far more important territory of its neighbor, Myra.

### MYRA

The region of Myra offers the greatest possibilities in Lycia, if not all of Asia Minor, for studying a city together with its territory.<sup>88</sup> History and archaeology give an impression of the city; surveys provide extensive information about the countryside. It is possible to understand the relation between city and country, and to trace their parallel development. The region prospered in late antiquity: its spectacular growth in the sixth century—perhaps the most flourishing period in its entire history—was followed by a drastic decline, with only partial recovery later. The remains show that city and country followed parallel developments throughout the period.

Steep mountains rim the small but rich alluvial plain of Myra. The city was founded at the foot of one of the mountains, which bore its acropolis, three miles from the sea and its port, Andriace. Myra was the civil and ecclesiastical capital of Lycia (it was made metropolis by Theodosius II, 408–450), and its port flourished from its location on the main sea lanes between the capital, Egypt, and the East. The remains of the port, far better preserved than those of the city, provide the clearest evidence for late antique prosperity.

History records two occasions when Myra received the beneficence of the imperial government. The emperor Marcian (450–457) enlarged the city wall on the advice of the governor, Artemon, and of Palladius, the praetorian prefect. According to a story, the emperor favored the province because, when he was a simple soldier on his way to a campaign against the Persians, he had fallen sick in Lycia and been cared for by Tatianus and Julius, grandsons of the former praetorian prefect Tatianus. Justinian was the second benefactor when he rebuilt Myra in 529 after an earthquake.<sup>89</sup>

The biography of a local saint and miracle-worker, Nicholas, abbot of Holy Zion, provides a remarkably vivid account of local conditions in the time of Justinian (the saint died in 564). It gives many details of life in city and country, which fortunately can be correlated with surviving remains.<sup>90</sup> The Life relates that the dreadful bubonic plague, which came by sea from Egypt, struck Myra in 542. The villagers were naturally afraid to approach the city, so that none of the essential products of the countryside—wheat, flour, wine, and wood are specifically mentioned—could reach the afflicted population. Their miseries were compounded by famine.<sup>91</sup> The attitude of the villagers was blamed on St. Nicholas, whom the governor and archbishop ordered to be arrested. The narrative reveals the interdependence of city and country: the city obtained essential raw mate-

<sup>88</sup>For the historical geography of Myra and its territory, especially, but not exclusively, in the classical period, see Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 101–22, 219–28.

<sup>89</sup>For the city wall, see the epigram preserved in the Greek Anthology: *AP* XV.2. Marcian in Lydia: Theophanes, 105. Justinian: Malalas, 448; note that this work is not mentioned in the *de Aedificiis* of Procopius.

<sup>90</sup>This is the *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* (henceforth, *VNS*), edited with detailed commentary by G. Anrich. See also the convenient recent edition, *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, ed. N. and I. Ševčenko (Brookline, Mass., 1984). For the geography of the region, with correlation of the remains and the evidence of the *VNS*, see Foss, "Cities and Villages."

<sup>91</sup>*VNS*, caps. 52–57.

rials from the villages, they in turn profited from the market which the city offered.<sup>92</sup> It also shows the great importance attached to the holy man: Nicholas had powers to work miracles, but also, on a more prosaic level (or so the officials believed) to disrupt the normal connection between city and village.

The Life of Nicholas mentions three buildings in the city: the cathedral, dedicated to St. Irene (or Holy Peace), the bishop's palace, and the famous church of the earlier St. Nicholas, who survived the Great Persecution to be honored by Constantine. The miracles of this Nicholas were so successful that he became renowned throughout the empire as the patron saint of thieves and children, famed in Europe as Father Christmas or Santa Claus (the latter derived from a corruption of his name). The church where he was buried and revered lay outside the city, to which it was connected by a portico a mile long, lined with houses for the poor. Portico and houses alike were supposedly built by three generals of the time of Constantine whom the saint had saved from execution.<sup>93</sup> The church itself still stands, though much rebuilt. Its earliest surviving remains are those of a basilica on piers, of a local type, dating probably to the sixth century; it may have been part of Justinian's restoration of the city.<sup>94</sup>

The biography of the earlier St. Nicholas gives more details of topography and public buildings, mentioning the palaces of governor and bishop, the cathedral church of Irene, the Square of the Dioscuri, a place (or quarter) called Leo, and the churches of St. Callinice and of the local martyrs Crescens and Dioscorides. The city gate (and by implication the city wall) appear; immediately outside was a place called Berras, where criminals were executed. This was probably adjacent to the necropolis, which stretched beyond the walls at least as far as the church of St. Nicholas. A brothel, to which an impoverished farmer would have been forced to consign his daughters had the saint not miraculously intervened, may have been in the city or the port.<sup>95</sup>

This incomplete record implies that Myra had a full complement of public buildings, many of them built in late antiquity; few, however, are known from their remains. Extensive erosion during the Middle Ages and later has buried the plain under several meters of silt, so that of the buildings mentioned, only the church of St. Nicholas has been discovered. Of Roman buildings, the ancient theater still stands, and presumably continued to function in late antiquity.

ANDRIACE, the port of Myra, was a flourishing and busy place in late antiquity. Inscriptions show that statues were erected in honor of Constantius II, Julian, and Valens, perhaps reflecting some imperial patronage.<sup>96</sup> St. Nicholas embarked here for the Holy

<sup>92</sup>Fowden, 366, rather mysteriously takes the refusal of the farmers to bring down their products as "one more incident in a long history of tension between Myra and its hinterland." In fact, the point of the story is that the farmers normally did bring down such products; it took the plague to stop this natural relationship. Dr. Fowden attempts to strengthen his point by mentioning the string of Hellenistic watchtowers between Myra and Limyra; but these were surely designed to protect the road against bandits who might come from anywhere, rather than representing tension between city and interior, for which there seems to be no evidence at all.

<sup>93</sup>*Praxis de stratelatis*, cap. 30, *ap.* Anrich I.91.

<sup>94</sup>See *Myra*, 323 f, 341 f.

<sup>95</sup>For these buildings, see Anrich II.528 f; brothel: *Vita Nic. Myr.*, cap. 10 (Anrich I.118); St. Callinice: Anrich I.59.

<sup>96</sup>*CIL*, 12126.8.

Land in a ship which sailed directly to Ascalon, and on his return from a second trip there boarded a Rhodian ship which he expected would land him at Andriace.<sup>97</sup> Such incidental evidence suggests that the port maintained active connections with the Levant and Greece, at least. More substantial and vivid information comes from the extensive remains.<sup>98</sup>

Most impressive among them is the granary, 65 m long and 32 m deep, built by Hadrian. It continued to function in the late fourth century when an inscription on its walls recorded that the praetorian prefect Tatianus (388–392) had sent standards of weight and measure for use in Myra and the neighboring city of Arneae. The imperial grain fleet, on its way from Egypt to Constantinople, evidently called at Andriace where supplies from the whole region were stored preparatory for shipment to the capital, if not also for local use.<sup>99</sup> The elaborate Roman system of grain supply, in which Lycia played a surprisingly important role, was thus still maintained. The main marketplace, a colonnaded and paved square, stood appropriately next to the granary. The grain itself was ground into flour at a large water mill on the opposite side of the harbor. Comparison with the great establishment at Barbegal in southern France suggests that this, too, is of late antique origin.

A row of large warehouses along the south shore of the harbor also reflects the active commercial life of the port (Fig. 39). They were separated from the main residential district by a broad boulevard, 7 m wide and partly covered. Behind it, a multitude of small houses on narrow alleys rises up the hill past the granary. This community, which spread along both sides of the harbor, was served by five churches of a closely related type, all three-aisled basilicas, datable by their decoration to the early sixth century. Most of them have small chapels, sometimes in the form of a triconch, and cisterns nearby; some have a narthex and atrium. The largest measures 28 × 18 m; the others are similar. These churches employ a uniform masonry of roughly cut and coursed stone over a core of mortared rubble, with fragments of brick to fill the interstices; the apse is usually of finer construction, sometimes in ashlar.<sup>100</sup>

Masonry and style of construction suggest that the churches and the neighboring houses are contemporary, and that the whole settlement flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries. Traces of earlier housing, however, do not appear; the whole place seems to have been extensively rebuilt in late antiquity. Andriace, of course, had long existed; the granary shows continuity of occupation, as does the necropolis which surrounded the church on the north shore of the harbor, outside the main residential district. The greatest activity, however, took place in late antiquity.

Texts and remains thus unite to reveal that Myra was a flourishing city with a substantial population most easily visualized in the crowded harbor district. It had the normal

<sup>97</sup> VNS, caps. 9, 38.

<sup>98</sup> For Andriace, see *Myra*, 64–75, 401–11.

<sup>99</sup> Inscription: H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1922), 290. Grain fleet: *Vita Nic. Myr.*, cap. 37 (Anrich I.132). D. French (below, note 114) discusses the significance of the granary in terms of local communications between coast and interior. See also Zimmermann, "Die lykischen Häfen" (above, note 1), for its role in the trade with Egypt.

<sup>100</sup> For the churches, in addition to *Myra*, see F. Grossman and H. G. Severin, "Forschungen in Südostlichen Lykien," *TürkArkDerg* 25-2 (1981), 101–10.

complement of public buildings and maintained the active life of a classical metropolis. Remains of the harbor show that trade, especially in grain, played a major role in the economy of the city. The palaces of governor and archbishop reflect the new administrative role of Myra, capital of a small but complex province. As such, it attracted people from the entire region on ecclesiastical or official business. Visitors also came to worship at the shrine of the earlier St. Nicholas; pilgrimage and festivals were also factors on the local economy. Finally, as the Life of St. Nicholas especially shows, Myra was the major link in communications between inland Lycia and the outside world.

Myra was not simply a city and port, but also a large territory which comprised three distinct areas: the immediate plain of the city, a stretch of coast to the west, and a large interior district of mountains, valleys, and small isolated plains. Each of these, especially the third, has remains which attest considerable activity in late antiquity.

The plain of Myra, which is about 10 km wide, together with the hills immediately above it, contains four sites. Sura, which grew up around a temple of Apollo and its famed fish oracle 4 km west of the city, includes two churches, one in the fortified settlement on the plateau, the other below it, beside the lagoon. The former is a basilica of the usual type and style, comparable to those of Andriace, but larger. The church on the lagoon, which apparently replaced the temple, was a more substantially built basilica with large windows and a good deal of cut marble decoration. It had a long court to one side built over a cistern and its narthex was plastered and painted. Style and masonry point, as usual, to the sixth century. Another site, Gürses, apparently the ancient Trebendae, stands on the ridge overlooking Sura, connected to it by an ancient road. Trebendae had a shrine of the archangel, where St. Nicholas performed a sacrifice during one of his peregrinations through the region; it is perhaps to be identified with the basilical church whose remains survive. In these cases, as so often, secular buildings have not been reported.<sup>101</sup>

An ancient road leads 6 km east of Myra to the unidentified hill site of Beymelek. This includes a basilica with an unusually fine synthronon and carving datable to the sixth century, as well as numerous houses apparently of the same period. Belen, above it in the mountains at the edge of the territory of Myra, also has a chapel which seems to be of this period.<sup>102</sup> The sites in and around the plain, then, were active in late antiquity, when the sixth century seems to have been a particularly flourishing time.

The territory of Myra stretched some 15 km westward along a high ridge overlooking the coast, until it reached that of Cyaneae near Tristomon. The westernmost settlement was the ancient town of Tyberissos, which stood on a hill high above the sea, about an hour by foot from Tristomon. Its occupation in this period is attested by the remains of two churches, both undated. One was built over a Doric temple, the other, just outside the center, constructed of spoils. The numerous remains of houses have not been studied.<sup>103</sup>

Far below Tyberissos and just above the coast was the small settlement of Istlada, which also contains a church, as well as the remains of numerous houses. Most of these

<sup>101</sup> Sura: *Myra*, 76–81, 411–16; Gürses: *ibid.*, 81–84, 416 f; identification: Foss, “Cities and Villages,” 333 f.

<sup>102</sup> Beymelek: *Myra*, 87–89; Belen: *ibid.*, 90 f.

<sup>103</sup> See Bean, 117 f, and Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*, 118–20.

are two-story structures of mortared rubble faced with ashlar, with two rooms on each floor; they appear to be late antique.<sup>104</sup> Dense occupation of the adjoining dry and rocky coast continued into the bay east of Kekova, where the shores and islands are lined with ruins of houses; the largest island bears the remains of a late antique church.

The most spectacular evidence comes from the interior territory, which stretched up the Myrus River about 20 km to Dereag zi, and north a similar distance to  a man, the late antique Plakoma. It comprised a mountainous region of which the center was the monastery of Holy Zion. This region has been well explored, with fourteen settlements discovered, eight of them identifiable with sites mentioned in the Life of St. Nicholas. All of them feature churches of solid stone, some of exceptional magnificence, and in several cases the houses have also been preserved and studied. The remains, especially when combined with the biography of St. Nicholas, provide unambiguous evidence for prosperity in the sixth century, and important material for understanding the relation between country and city.

The most famous place in this region was the monastery of Holy Zion in the hamlet of Pharroa in the district of the village of Tragalassus. The church was established by St. Nicholas' uncle, also called Nicholas, on the spot where he had seen the light of Holy Zion of Jerusalem. It was consecrated by the archbishop of Myra, yet another Nicholas, apparently in the early years of Justinian. The name reflects the close connection between Lycia and the Holy Land evident in local architecture and in the journeys of St. Nicholas of Zion.<sup>105</sup>

The church soon attracted the generosity of benefactors. The Life of St. Nicholas records the famous relics which adorned his church, but more evident proof of its splendor is at hand in a magnificent treasure of ecclesiastical furnishings—plates, chalices, lamp holders, censers, book covers, amphorae and sheathing for an altar, columns, and capitals—all of exceptional quality. The objects are of massive silver, many with gilt decoration. They are dated by hallmarks of the mid-sixth century, and associated with the church by their inscriptions, which invoke Holy Zion. They give a striking impression of the interior of the church—the altar and columns gleaming with silver, the candelabra shining in an atmosphere suffused with incense and light, an impression which could hardly have been imagined in a seemingly remote mountain monastery.<sup>106</sup>

The inscriptions name several donors. Most prominent among them is the bishop Eutychianus, otherwise unknown but certainly of Myra, within whose diocese the monastery lay. He was plainly a very rich man, since he dedicated the greatest number of objects, including some of the most magnificent. Other ecclesiastical officials named include

<sup>104</sup>See O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna, 1884), 28–31; cf. Bean, 119.

<sup>105</sup>Church of Zion: Anrich, 228–40, with references to *VNS*; voyages to Jerusalem: *VNS*, caps. 8–9, 27–36.

<sup>106</sup>For these objects, see the major publication, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, ed. Susan Boyd and Marlia Mango (Washington, D.C., 1992), especially the general analysis and list of objects, "A 'Metropolitan' Treasure from a Church in the Provinces: An Introduction to the Study of the Sion Treasure," by S. Boyd, 5–38. For specific classes of objects, see M. Frazer, "Early Byzantine Silver Book Covers," *ibid.*, 71–76; S. Boyd: "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure," in *Argenterie romaine et byzantine*, ed. F. Baratte (Paris, 1988), 191–202; and E. Kitzinger, "A Pair of Bookcovers in the Sion Treasure," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore, 1974), 3–17.

two more bishops, a priest, two deacons, and a reader. Several laymen also appear, among them two of high rank.<sup>107</sup>

These gifts represent not only the splendor of the church and the importance of the monastery, but a significant local store of wealth. In this period, it was common for churches to function as deposits of treasure, much as had ancient temples. Most commonly, such capital was accumulated in the form of silver plate and decoration, as here.<sup>108</sup> The inscriptions suggest that this wealth was of local origin; the church, therefore, may be seen as a striking example of the prosperity of the region, and an illustration of the surplus capital which it generated.

Holy Zion has been plausibly identified with the church at Karabel discovered by Prof. Martin Harrison in 1960. This is constructed of fine ashlar on an unusual plan with a triconch apse and side chapels, elements which indicate Egyptian or Palestinian influence. Adjacent to the apse is a rectangular baptistery with a font whose balustrade bears the inscription of a donor, Nicholas the sea captain.<sup>109</sup> The source of his wealth—trade by sea—seems characteristic; he was presumably based at Myra. His inscription, like those of the silver treasure, suggests that much of the wealth manifested here came from the metropolis. Yet the church was inspired, built, and used by local people, villagers whose incomes derived from local agriculture and whatever trade passed through the village along the road which connected Myra with the inland city of Arneae.

Holy Zion stands in some isolation, but only 2 km from Tragalassus, which contains a church and substantial stone-built houses, apparently also of the sixth century.<sup>110</sup> Such settlements abounded in these mountains, now remote but then connected by a network of built roads, often carved in the cliff sides. Several of the villages include churches of surprising sophistication, with stone carving of a high quality and plans showing the influence of Egypt and the Levant.

The church of the archangel Gabriel at Alakilise in a high mountain valley 4 km east of Holy Zion is an excellent example of its type, a basilica with a narthex of two stories and a tetraconch chapel attached to the main apse, and with an elaborately carved decoration of screens, capitals, and cornices.<sup>111</sup> Unlike most others, this church has a context which has been studied, enabling a rare image of a rustic settlement to be reconstructed.

The village may be identified as Karkabo, where St. Nicholas recruited woodcutters and made sacrifices.<sup>112</sup> It consisted of about thirty houses, some terraced in the slopes, and others freestanding. The latter are of roughly shaped and coursed fieldstones in a

<sup>107</sup>See I. Ševčenko, "The Sion Treasure: The Evidence of the Inscriptions," in *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 39–56.

<sup>108</sup>On these points, see M. M. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1986), 1–8, 11–13, with archaeological and textual evidence; idem, "The Monetary Value of Silver Revetments and Objects Belonging to Churches, A.D. 300–700," in *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 123–36; and P. Grierson, "The Role of Silver in the Early Byzantine Economy," *ibid.*, 137–46.

<sup>109</sup>Karabel: Harrison, "Churches," 131–35, 146 f; on the identification, cf. Foss, "Cities and Villages," 308 f.

<sup>110</sup>Harrison, "Churches," 131; cf. Foss "Cities and Villages," note 22.

<sup>111</sup>Harrison, "Churches," 125–30, 145 f; cf. H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908), 318–24, with excellent illustration. For the decoration, see M. Harrison, "A Note on Architectural Sculpture in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 22 (1972), 187–98.

<sup>112</sup>Village: Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes," 228 ff; identification: Foss, "Cities and Villages," 310–12, with reference to further works of Prof. Harrison in note 24.

technique similar to that employed in the coastal sites. They have two stories: the upper, which has large windows, was the main residence, while the ground floor was used for beasts and storage. Each has its cistern, since the valley contains no permanent source of water. The valley of Karkabo is small and dry, but fertile. In late antiquity, its slopes were terraced and grapes were the main crop, as shown by the small wine presses adjacent to each house. Outside the village, there were two chapels on the hillside, and a large basilica on the high hill which overlooked the path leading to the village. This church, at Dikmen, had the characteristic triconch apse and side chapel. To the south, the Turant Dağ bore a finely built and decorated basilica, with a surrounding settlement.<sup>113</sup>

This small settlement, whose population was numbered in the hundreds, could not have survived in isolation, for the valley is narrow and its crops not sufficiently diverse to support a relatively large population. That would have depended on trade, selling products and skills to other places, especially the metropolis. It was surely for this that roads were cut into the mountains to lead from the site toward the coast. These tracks formed part of a larger system that connected the interior of Lycia with the ports.<sup>114</sup> By taking their wine to market, the villagers could generate a surplus supplemented by employment as cutters of wood and stone. They could then afford to build stone houses and the magnificent church. This success, though apparently short-lived, is remarkable in such an unpromising environment: water is in short supply in the summer, and the place is easily cut off by the rains and snows of winter.

The village grew and flourished in late antiquity, especially in the sixth century, the date indicated by the decoration of its church; the common style of the other buildings suggests that the whole settlement was contemporary. Permanent occupation of the site was late, for it bears no trace of the Romans. Earlier inhabitants probably lived in the kind of wooden houses which still characterize the region.

The sixth century thus stands out as a time of great if ephemeral prosperity, in this and many other sites in the mountainous part of the territory of Myra. Karkabo may be taken as an example of a phenomenon widespread in this district, where well-built stone churches stand amid remains of small settlements, placed as close together as the environment would allow. They are too numerous to survey here, but information about them is readily accessible.<sup>115</sup> It almost invariably indicates the sixth century as the time of greatest prosperity, with little evidence for earlier or later periods.

The remains of Myra and its territory are extremely instructive for understanding the region in late antiquity. They show that city and country flourished together, with the greatest activity both in the seaports and in the remote mountain valleys falling in the sixth century. The success of the different regions was connected: trade united them, and allowed settlements to flourish in areas otherwise unpromising. Villagers of the mountain district produced crops of value for the city and for international trade. Primary among them were the timber constantly needed by the treeless Egyptians, and the

<sup>113</sup>Dikmen: Harrison, "Churches," 130; Turant Dağ: Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes," 232.

<sup>114</sup>For the local roads, see Harrison, "Churches," 131 note 96, and for the larger system, D. French, "The Roads, Paths and Water Channel," in J. Morganstern, *The Fort at Dereğza* (= *Istanbul Forschungen* 40) (Tübingen, 1993), 87–90. Compare the parallel case of Pisidia: D. French, "Roads in Pisidia," in E. Schwertheim, ed., *Forschungen in Pisidien (Asia-Minor-Studien* 6) (1992) 167–75.

<sup>115</sup>See the various works of Harrison, Grossman and Severin, and Foss cited above.

wheat which filled the granary of Andriace, much of it shipped to the teeming capital, or ground into flour at the remarkable local watermill. Wine was also a product of the interior, as were the skills of woodsmen and stonecutters. The villagers brought their crops down to Myra for sale, and there could buy the finished products they needed, whether made locally or brought on the international shipping which could be found at ports like Andriace or Tristomon.

The ports necessarily prospered together with the villages of the interior. All were connected, physically by roads, economically by mutual need. The densely packed remains of the coast also suggest that coastal trade, and no doubt fishing, were important activities. These towns would have been in contact with each other, with Egypt and the Levant, with Greece and the capital. A vast network of connections and interdependence flourished, especially in the sixth century. As long as it could be maintained, the parts could profit from the health of the whole. When, however, it broke down, the entire situation changed, for the city, for the coast, and for the interior.

Late antique Myra flourished to an extent which has never been equaled. The location of the city on the sea route, the source of wealth in peacetime, brought disaster during the Dark Ages, the time of incessant war with the Arabs. Myra disappears from history after the reign of Justinian and does not reappear until 790, when a Byzantine fleet sailed past on its way to engage the Arabs. In 809, when an Arab commander named Khumayd attacked Myra hoping to plunder the tomb of St. Nicholas, he received the reward of his impiety: he broke into the wrong tomb, and his fleet was wrecked by a storm.<sup>116</sup> Although the scanty chronicles of the age preserve the memory of this attack alone, the narratives of the miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra show that it was one among many, and illustrate the miseries which faced the local population.

The church of St. Nicholas was long venerated by pilgrims from distant provinces. In the late ninth century, St. Constantine, a converted Jew, traveled there on his way from Bithynia to Cyprus without mishap. Less fortunate was a certain priest of Mitylene, who frequently came to worship at the tomb of the saint and gather the sacred oil which it exuded. Arab pirates, descending on Myra, captured him and carried him off to Crete.<sup>117</sup>

The annual festival of St. Nicholas, which featured an all-night service, also attracted people and rich offerings from the neighborhood in the ninth century. One couple, John and Thamaris, normally contributed a hundred gold pieces every year, while the peasants brought in sheep, meat, wine, and wagons full of grain.<sup>118</sup> Moslem raiders who ransacked the countryside curtailed the generosity, but not the piety, of the couple by carrying off their children, slaves, and animals, and reducing them to poverty. This account, if it can be believed in any detail—the obvious parallel with Job invites some skepticism—offers a rare glimpse into economic conditions of the time. John and Thamaris were obviously very rich, owners of slaves, and capable of giving an enormous sum to the church. Their wealth derived from the land, to suggest that they were great proprietors of a type known elsewhere in Asia Minor in the Dark Ages. Whether their estates re-

<sup>116</sup>Theophanes, 465, 483.

<sup>117</sup>Saint Constantine: *ActaSS*, Nov.IV.635; priest of Mitylene: *Vita Nic. Myr.*, Anrich I, 171 f.

<sup>118</sup>*Vita Nic. Myr.*, Anrich I, 286 f. For the importance of such shrines as Myra in the Byzantine age, see S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* (Los Angeles, 1971), 36–42.

placed or coexisted with the smaller farms which characterized the earlier period is not evident.

In another case, a young man named Basil used to go every year from his home on the coast near Myra to the festival. One year, when the worshipers were all inside the church for the nocturnal mass, the Arabs made a rich haul by carrying them all off to Crete.<sup>119</sup> These few instances are recorded because they had happy endings; St. Nicholas, with his usual miraculous skill, rescued the victims of the Arab raiders, but it is likely that they were only a few among many, and that great numbers of people suffered death, slavery, or impoverishment from the raids.

At the same time, it is evident that the church itself survived the disasters which overwhelmed the country and continued to prosper, though not without interruption. The Justinianic church was destroyed in the eighth century, perhaps by an Arab attack.<sup>120</sup> Unlike many others, however, it was restored to its full size. The new structure, built directly over the ruins of the old, was a cross-domed basilica whose central nave led to the apse with its synthronon, and to narthex and exonarthex; an extra aisle was added to the south side. It has been dated by stylistic parallels to the eighth century, and associated with a group of churches in the capital, Greece, and Asia Minor.<sup>121</sup> The new church is one of the most ambitious productions of an age which saw little in the way of construction beside fortifications. Myra, however it otherwise declined, still had the resources to build a substantial church; they were derived, no doubt, from trade which continued in spite of adverse circumstances, and from the profits brought by its role as a center of pilgrimage.

The survival of the church owed much to the large fortified enclosure which surrounded it. Its walls, which form a square of about 100 m on a side, were of rubble faced with carefully arranged spoils, many of them from the Hellenistic city walls.<sup>122</sup> Also included were capitals, architraves, and friezes—the ruins of the ancient city. The gates were flanked by solid square towers. Such walls indicate a date in the Dark Ages, a time when a building of such fame and importance would need special defense in order to maintain its functions.

Use of spoils from the ancient walls may indicate that the central part of the city was abandoned and that Myra came to consist of the separately walled church and the settlement on the acropolis, where the Dark Ages brought considerable rebuilding. The large ancient fortress on the steep hilltop above the theater was put to new use and greatly expanded with walls of regularly coursed spoils (Fig. 40) of a style common in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>123</sup> This fortress may have contained the main medieval settlement of Myra while the great pilgrimage church in the plain below was considered worthy of a separate fortification. Such a situation finds parallels at Ephesus, Ancyra, and else-

<sup>119</sup>*Vita Nic. Myr.*, Anrich I, 188–95.

<sup>120</sup>It is tempting to associate this with the known Arab attack of 809, since the stylistic parallels which indicate the eighth century are not especially precise.

<sup>121</sup>The church is published in detail in *Myra*, 301–97: see 342–45 for the chronology and cf. H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige* (Vienna, 1969), 25–62 for an attempt to place it within the group of related churches.

<sup>122</sup>Described in *Myra*, 56 f.

<sup>123</sup>Acropolis fortifications: *Myra*: 46 f, 398–400, and pl. IX.

where. In this case, however, little is yet known of the central city whose buildings are mostly buried in silt.

The port of Andriace shows a similar development. The commercial center on the south side of the harbor was abandoned some time after the sixth century, and a new fortification wall (Fig. 41) was built to enclose the residential district opposite, on a hill at the entrance to the harbor. Consistent use of well-arranged spoils indicates a date in the Dark Ages; the medieval fortified area was thus about a third the size of the late antique port.<sup>124</sup> Greater Myra, then, was fundamentally transformed—from a metropolis with large public buildings stretching over the plain with another good-sized settlement at the harbor, to three separate small fortified centers at the acropolis, the church, and the harbor.

While the coast suffered constant attack, the mountains behind it continued to provide refuge, at least for monks. At the end of the eighth century, St. Joannicius moved from Bithynia to Mt. Cunduria above Myra, a remote and quiet place described as the home of wild beasts.<sup>125</sup>

The archaeological record of the mountain region shows much activity in the Dark Ages, with varied evidence for growth, continuity, or decline. The church of Karkabo (Alakilise) provides an unusual point of reference, for an inscription reveals that it was rebuilt in 812, and the remains indicate that the new structure was of the same plan and size as the old. Its rebuilding, along with the construction of a small chapel on the hillside which may be of the iconoclastic period, suggests continuing prosperity. The large basilica of Dikmen above the village, however, fell into ruin and eventually a small chapel using blocks from the original church was built into it. The houses apparently provide no evidence of reuse. Farther south, the large church on Turant Dağ, like that of Dikmen, was succeeded by a single-aisled chapel inserted into its ruins.<sup>126</sup> In this case, the remains suggest continuity and a certain concentration, with the outlying parts of the settlement being abandoned or notably reduced.

The reasons for decline here are not far to seek, thanks to the discovery of the treasure of the monastery of Holy Zion. Its silver furnishings were stolen by thieves who ransacked the church. They flattened chalices and rolled up the sheathing of the altar for easy transport, then buried the lot under the floor of a building on a hill near the sea east of Limyra, at the site of the ancient Corydalla. Because of the excellent condition of the objects and the lack of later additions, it is reasonable to suppose that the church was plundered in the Dark Ages. Burial of the treasure by the sea in what was certainly intended to be a temporary hiding spot points to the activities of the Arabs whose fleets constantly devastated the coast. It may provide the first evidence of their penetration into the interior of this country, where rich monasteries were no longer protected by their remote locations.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup>The walls of Andriace are described from personal inspection. They are curiously ignored in *Myra*, 401–11, where a small marble fragment is taken as providing the only evidence for Byzantine occupation of the site.

<sup>125</sup>*Vita Ioannicii* (*ActaSS*, Nov.II,1), 341, 344, 410, 411. The mountain is described as east of Lycia and west of Asia, near Myra, a description which allows no certain identification.

<sup>126</sup>Harrison, "Churches," 128–30; "Nouvelles découvertes," 229, 232.

<sup>127</sup>Site of burial: N. Firatlı "Un trésor du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle à Kumluca en Lycie," *Atten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Vatican City, 1969), 524 note 3. For possible alternate explanations of the

In any case, the church suffered severe damage at some point, for when it was rebuilt, the dome had collapsed and the triconch sanctuary was abandoned. The new structure consisted only of the old nave, now reinforced with pillars, and an added small apse.<sup>128</sup> Whether the damage is to be associated with the looting has not been determined, nor has the date of the rebuilding. Like the churches around Karkabo, the small church of Karabol, near Holy Zion, also shows reduction, with a new wall of poor masonry replacing the former arcade of the basilica.<sup>129</sup> In most cases, though, there is no information on the later fate of the mountain churches.

The normal response of the Byzantine government to the raids and chaotic conditions of the Dark Ages was fortification, as seen already at Myra. The mountains, however, contain very few, perhaps because they were protected by their inaccessibility. Muskar, near Alakilise, has a fortress whose style of construction may indicate the ninth century. Another fort stands above Holy Zion, but its remains give no clue for a date. Both of these are quite small.<sup>130</sup>

One great work forms an exception to this lack of fortresses and is associated with the most remarkable monument of the whole period to be found in Lycia, or for that matter, in most of Asia Minor. The fort of Dereagzı overlooks the well-known church, so exceptional for the place and time. It also lay in the ancient territory of Myra. The large and elaborate fortress consists of three parts: an outer bailey with a north wall almost 200 m long and towers of varying shapes, an inner circuit which contains a simple chapel, and a citadel. In addition, there is a long spur wall leading to a tower which overlooks the head of the gorge of the Myrus. There are many traces of cisterns and buildings, but little evidence for dating. The fortress may be as early as the seventh century, from which a few coins have been found in the area, or as late as the ninth. In any case, it appears to belong to the Dark Ages and to represent a major new settlement.<sup>131</sup>

This fortress, on a scale far larger than anything else in the region, was evidently designed to protect the large interior basin of Kasaba. The main wall has a magnificent view over the plain while the tower on the spur guards the one approach from the coast, via the Roman road which led along the gorge of the Myrus. The history of the plain itself, though it comprises the largest fertile and well-watered basin near the coast, is virtually unknown. No evidence of late antique occupation has been reported except at Dereagzı, where it consists only of pottery and coins. The fortress seems to represent a new and quite substantial settlement in an easily defensible area. As such, it may indicate

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fate of the treasure, see Boyd, "A 'Metropolitan' Treasure," 7 f, and for a different (and, to my view, quite implausible) explanation of its origin, H. Hellenkemper, "Ecclesiastical Silver Hoards and Their Findspots: Implications for the Treasure Found at Korydalla, Lycia," in *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 65–70. It is equally possible that the looting was done by the Persians, who ravaged much of the country in the early seventh century. Although their presence is not attested in this region, they captured Rhodes (which implies control of the local seas) and attacked many parts of Asia Minor: see C. Foss "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity," *EHR* 90 (1975), 721–47.

<sup>128</sup>Harrison, "Churches," 135.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, 137 f.

<sup>130</sup>Muskar: Harrison, "Churches," 131; Karabel: *ibid.*, 136.

<sup>131</sup>The fortress is published in detail by Morganstern, *The Fort*, 27–64.

some withdrawal of population from the exposed coastal districts, or even from the previously flourishing mountain villages.

Much more enigmatic is the most impressive structure of medieval Lycia, the great church of Dereag zi, the largest in the region.<sup>132</sup> It is a cross-domed basilica of elaborate and sophisticated plan, with a domed squarish central nave, apsed trefoil chapels beside the main apse, galleries around, a narthex with towers on the outside, and two attached octagonal structures. The whole is built in mortared rubble with bands of brick; vaults and domes were in brick. The interior bore painted plaster and mosaics, the exterior was covered with pink plaster. The church is remarkable in every respect. Its style of construction is alien to Lycia, but represents Constantinople, which evidently provided patron, architect, and even the building materials including the bricks and probably the granite columns. The church appears to be of the ninth century, but little else is clear: whether it was a cathedral, monastery, or pilgrimage church is unknown. In any case, it is anomalous and foreign to other developments in the region. Only the castle, which may be contemporary, can be associated with it, and even then their relationship is not altogether clear. In any case, it appears that this interior basin, at the edge of the territory of Myra, saw activity and growth at a time when little is evident elsewhere.

The stability and growth of the empire under the Macedonian dynasty brought a return of prosperity to Myra, especially after the recapture of the Arab base of Crete in 961. In the tenth century, it was one of the cities of the Cibyrrhaeot theme, the province of great importance for the Byzantine navy. By this time, danger from the Moslems was only sporadic; in 1034, the city was captured and severely damaged, but seems otherwise to have passed the age in peace. The damage was soon repaired at the instigation of St. Nicholas, who appeared in a dream to the most powerful man in the empire, John the Orphanotrophus, and inspired him to give money to the church and fortify the city with a strong wall.<sup>133</sup> Eight years later, the church of St. Nicholas was restored by Constantine X and Zoe. These restorations have left visible traces in the form of a fine *opus sectile* floor in the church, and in the walls of the acropolis, where they employ a small mortared rubble which could be of the eleventh century (Fig. 42); the three small chapels within the walls appear to be of the same period. This age was probably responsible also for the cross-in-square church near the theater, which indicates that part of the ancient city below the acropolis was being occupied.<sup>134</sup>

Myra suffered its greatest loss in the years after Manzikert when the Turks overran Asia Minor. In that chaotic time, the inhabitants abandoned the city and church and withdrew to the acropolis. When an expedition of freebooters from Bari landed in 1087, therefore, they were easily able to ransack the church in a successful search for the body of St. Nicholas. The precious relic was removed and triumphantly borne to Italy.<sup>135</sup> Not to be outdone, the Venetians in 1100 made a similar descent, hoping to find an equally valuable treasure, or to demonstrate that the prize of Bari was spurious. When their

<sup>132</sup> See idem, *The Byzantine Church at Dereag zi and its Decoration* (*IstMitt*, Beiheft 29) (Tubingen, 1983)

<sup>133</sup> Scylitzes, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 396 f.

<sup>134</sup> Restoration of St. Nicholas: Gr goire, *Recueil*, 291, only diffidently used in *Myra*, 347; floor: *ibid.*, 394–97. Acropolis walls, *ibid.*, 46 f, 398, and pl. IV. Chapels and monastic buildings: *ibid.*, 345 f. Cross-in-square church: *ibid.*, 400 f.

<sup>135</sup> See the full account, “Translatio Barim Graece,” in Anrich I, 435–49.

scouts landed, they found Turks ravaging the country and Myra deserted. The city had been destroyed, everyone had withdrawn to the castle, and only four caretakers remained at the church. After breaking open floor and walls and torturing the priests, the Venetians sailed off with a body which, they claimed, belong to St. Nicholas.<sup>136</sup> Although parts of this narrative are of dubious historical value, its circumstantial details, perhaps lifted from an account of the expedition of Bari, illustrate the condition of Myra during the first period of Turkish attacks.

Recovery came under Alexius Comnenus, and Myra was soon again frequented by merchants and pilgrims. The Englishman Saewulf landed in 1102 on his way to the Holy Land and worshiped at the tomb of St. Nicholas. Likewise, the Russian pilgrim Daniel stopped here in 1106, noting that the incense which grew along the Lycian coast was produced as far as Myra. For these travelers, as for others, Myra was the last major land-fall before Cyprus on the way to the Levant.<sup>137</sup> A tomb of 1118 shows that the monastery of St. Nicholas was again functioning, and a fresco of the councils of the church reflects the attention devoted to it in the twelfth century.<sup>138</sup> This period also brought substantial repairs to the fabric of the church and some major additions: rooms were added to the north side, and a chapel and grave chamber to the south. The masonry of this work, which employs alterations of roughly cut stone and single courses of brick, finds many parallels in the period.<sup>139</sup>

The region as a whole seems to have flourished under the Comneni. The area above the lagoon east of Myra, for example, saw the erection of four simple barrel-vaulted chapels in the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>140</sup> Although there is evidence for revived activity, it was often on a far smaller scale than earlier work. The most notable examples come from Sura, Gürses, and Beymelek, where small chapels were inserted into the naves of ruined earlier basilicas.<sup>141</sup> These represent a significant reduction and, by implication, a smaller population. The chapel at Gürses has paintings dated to the eleventh/twelfth century. The situation in the hills seems to have been similar. Although the church of Alakilise shows at least three periods of reconstruction after the ninth century and thus represents continuity, the other churches in the vicinity were ruined and replaced by simple small chapels.<sup>142</sup>

The other remains of this period are typically fortifications, especially necessary in the time of the Comneni, when increased contact with both West and East gave this coast added importance and brought greater danger of attack. The old Hellenistic fortress of Sura was rebuilt with walls of a small mortared rubble which would suit this time, and the citadel of Beymelek, a well-built triangular structure only about 30 m long, is of a

<sup>136</sup>See the detailed account of an anonymous monk of the Lido, "Historia de translatione sanctorum . . .," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, ed. Cte. Riant, *Histoires occidentales* V (Paris, 1886), 259–68 with the editor's comments, xlix f, and the remarks of Anrich II, 521 ff.

<sup>137</sup>Saewulf, 4; Daniel, 6 f.

<sup>138</sup>Tomb: Grégoire, *Recueil*, 292; frescoes: *Myra*, 360–93.

<sup>139</sup>*Myra*, 348, 386 f.

<sup>140</sup>*Myra*, 419–24.

<sup>141</sup>Sura: *Myra*, 412 f; Gürses: *ibid.*, 416 ff; Beymelek: Grossman and Severin, "Forschungen," 105 f.

<sup>142</sup>Alakilise: Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes," 229; chapels: see above, note 126. The chapels could as well be of this period as of the Dark Ages; without paintings or architectural sculpture, there seems to be no criterion for dating such simple structures.

similar masonry.<sup>143</sup> They may represent a coordinated system of coastal defense in which strategic high points in convenient view of each other were fortified and used as posts of communication.

Andriace, the harbor of Myra, could have been part of such a system, for its walls appear to have been considerably modified at this time. The fortifications of the Dark Ages were rebuilt and new towers added to the circuit (see Fig. 41). This work employs a masonry of small mortared rubble with much brick, quite distinct from the earlier walls. Similar masonry appears in the basilica within these walls, which bears evidence of extensive restoration. Adjacent remains of houses or public buildings also appear to be of this period. Renewed activity, therefore, affected civil as well as military life in the port. At the same time, there seems to have been some revival in the old late antique center across the harbor, as indicated by finds of architectural sculpture in one of its chapels. Most of the buildings there, however, show no trace of work later than the seventh century.<sup>144</sup>

After the battle of Myriocephalon in 1176, Byzantine rule rapidly collapsed in southern Anatolia. In 1191, Philip Augustus found the coastal region desolate.<sup>145</sup> The fortified settlements of Myra and Andriace may have held out in the general rout, as nomads advanced on the interior and pirates ravaged the coasts, but by the time of the Nicene empire, when the frontier was at the Indus River, they had definitely become Turkish.<sup>146</sup>

The historical record and remains of Myra and its territory reveal a striking and consistent development: late antique prosperity reaching a height in the time of Justinian, followed by drastic decline in the Dark Ages, and only partial recovery in the ninth century and later. In all this, city and country progressed or declined together. Evidence from the sixth century is especially impressive: the rebuilt church of St. Nicholas in Myra; the five churches, and perhaps many of the houses of Andriace; the churches and associated remains in the plain and coast; and, most impressive of all, the beautifully built churches of the mountains—not limited to the great monastery of Holy Zion—as well as such villages as Karkabo. These sites all convey the same message: universal prosperity in city and country, produced by the trade which connected them with each other and with the outside world.

The splendor of the age of Justinian makes the catastrophic decline of the Dark Ages even more striking. The Arab attacks, and disruption of commerce, ruined the coastal region: Myra became a fortress on a hill, with a separate enclosure around the church; Andriace was reduced to half its former size; other sites seem to have been abandoned altogether. Yet the city did not die: the church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in its full size in the eighth or ninth century, and some local people still had considerable wealth. The fate of the mountains was more complex. Some sites reflect devastation and decline: Holy Zion was looted and rebuilt on a smaller scale and the churches of Dikmen and Karabol were replaced by small chapels. Yet the large church at Karkabo was rebuilt in 812 in its original size, and forts were erected at Muskar and Tragalassus, perhaps in this period.

<sup>143</sup> *Myra*, 76–80, 87 f.

<sup>144</sup> Fortress, church, and civic buildings: personal inspection; sculpture: *Myra*, 405, where the piece is perversely taken as providing the only evidence for late settlement at Andriace.

<sup>145</sup> Roger of Hoveden, III, 158 (= Benedict, 196).

<sup>146</sup> See above, note 8.

Most striking, though, is Dereagzi, the site of a vast new fortress and of the great enigmatic church, which has no parallel in the region.

This kind of evidence suggests that some part of the population withdrew from the exposed coast to the easily protected mountains, where they could be defended by geography and the new fortresses. Yet even here, the picture is mixed, for some sites contracted, and, except at Dereagzi, there is no evidence of general expansion. It appears, therefore, that there was an overall decline of population and resources in the whole region, but that the mountains suffered less than other districts.

The successful years of the Macedonian dynasty brought some recovery to Myra where the church of St. Nicholas and the fortifications were restored in the mid-eleventh century. The disaster of Manzikert, however, introduced a time of chaos, which saw Myra momentarily abandoned. More substantial recovery came with the Comneni, when St. Nicholas was again restored, and chapels built at Andriace and at several sites of the coastal plain. These were accompanied by fortresses for local defense. In the interior, the church of Karkabo maintained its ancient size, but little is known of the other sites. This situation lasted less than a century: the battle of Myriokephalon was followed by anarchy, so that the end of the Byzantine age saw the coast once again deserted, and at the mercy of pirates.

#### LIMYRA

The city of Limyra stood at the end of an alluvial plain, some two miles from the sea, beneath a steep acropolis detached from the mountains behind. The ancient center was on the acropolis, but the Roman city typically expanded into the plain, where it subsequently remained.<sup>147</sup> In late antiquity and the Byzantine period, Limyra had some importance as a bishopric, but otherwise never appears in history. The remains suggest a substantial but not imposing late antique city whose area, though none of its monumental buildings, was preserved in the Middle Ages. It owed whatever importance it had in the postclassical period to its location at the end of one highway which led up the valley of the Arycandus into the interior, the source of raw materials such as timber, and on another which traversed all of Lycia. The latter crossed the large river (whose ancient name is unknown) east of Limyra by a long stone bridge of 360 m built in late antiquity.<sup>148</sup> Its construction shows the continuing importance of communications in the period. More active than the city was its port Phoenix, which stands at the junction of the two roads, and actually appears in the historical record.

The acropolis, whose imposing fortifications were no longer needed in the peace of late antiquity, was so steep and rough as to be suitable only for the isolation of a monastery. A basilical church of 23 × 15 m with walls of rough ashlar was built on the lower slopes, apparently in the early sixth century. A triconch chapel attached north of the apse produced a plan which finds close parallels in the territory of Myra. Outlying rooms

<sup>147</sup>For a convenient summary of the recent excavations, see J. Borchhardt et al., "Grabungen und Forschungen in Limyra aus den Jahren 1984–1990," *ÖJh* 61 (1991–92), Beiblatt 125–90 (henceforth, Borchhardt, "Grabungen"; but I shall normally refer not to this, but to the more detailed preliminary reports of each season).

<sup>148</sup>W. Wurster and A. Ganzert, "Eine Brücke bei Limyra in Lykien," *AA* (1978), 288–307.

suggest that the church formed part of a monastery; the whole complex drew its water from an adjacent cistern. The church was eventually destroyed, apparently by the middle of the seventh century.<sup>149</sup>

The main public buildings were at the base of the acropolis, on either side of the Limyrus River. Notable among them was the cathedral, which was built over the ruins of a large temple and faced on a square paved with sandstone blocks. It was of an arcaded basilical plan and measured 40 × 23 m. As usual, the floor and walls were decorated: the nave and apse covered with mosaics, the walls with frescoes. Two rooms, one with a black-and-white mosaic naming two otherwise unknown priests, flanked the apse in a plan more characteristic of Pamphylia than Lycia. Stylistic criteria suggest a date in the fifth century for the original construction. Repairs, which include narrowing of the openings and patching of the mosaics in brick, may be associated with a capital of the mid-sixth century. The church was destroyed under unknown circumstances, perhaps in the seventh or eighth century.<sup>150</sup> Adjacent to the church was a large structure, 60 × 40 m, of several vaulted rooms, mostly covered with marble. It appears to have been a bath.<sup>151</sup>

This district had a main street 4 m wide, and narrower cross streets (of about 2.5 m) lined with houses. Immediately to the north of the cathedral was another bath, apparently of late antique date, and beyond it, at the base of the acropolis below houses built on terraces, the theater. The excavations found the theater filled with numerous irregular walls of spoils, whose purpose was not determined. Since many coins of the fourth and fifth centuries were found here, it seems possible that the theater had already been put to new uses by that time.<sup>152</sup>

West of the river was a late antique colonnaded street and a large building adjacent to the ancient Lycian Gate, whose size suggests an important structure.<sup>153</sup> Nearby was a small basilical church with elegant marble capitals and altar screen. Its narthex was built partly over the ancient Ptolemaion. The church has been dated to the late fifth or early sixth century.<sup>154</sup>

The most imposing monument of this district was the great cenotaph built in honor of Caius Caesar, Augustus' grandson, who died here in 2 B.C. It was surrounded by a paved square which underwent significant changes. In the first, the neat Roman paving was much disturbed by the insertion of a network of drain pipes. These were covered with a layer of rubble, including material taken from the cenotaph, over which a new paving of spoils was laid. Doors opened from the square in a new wall, also of spoils from the cenotaph, and led to several rooms, of which one had an apse and mosaic pavement. In the next stage, other apsidal rooms were added and paved with cut marble. During all these changes, the cenotaph continued to stand, but as a source of cut stone, surrounded by buildings which resemble private dwellings of some luxury. Pottery and a

<sup>149</sup>See *X Kazi* (1989), 2.149f; *XI Kazi* (1989), 191 f. For the later history of the church, see below.

<sup>150</sup>U. Peschlow, "Die Bischofskirche in Limyra," *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Vatican City, 1984), II, 409–21, with added details in *VIII Kazi* (1986), 115, and *X Kazi* (1988), 147.

<sup>151</sup>*XII Kazi* (1990), 331 f.

<sup>152</sup>For the date of the baths, see J. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra* (Ist Forsch 35) (Tübingen, 1984), 4; theater: *VIII Kazi* (1985), 470–74, *VII Kazi* (1986), 117.

<sup>153</sup>Street: *XI Kazi* (1989), 190 f; building: *VII Kazi* (1985), 447; *VIII Kazi* (1986), 111 f.

<sup>154</sup>*XII Kazi* (1990), 330 f.

few coins suggest that they date from the fifth and sixth centuries, and were occupied through the seventh at the latest. Subsequently, the area was abandoned until the Ottoman period.<sup>155</sup>

The late antique city thus contained the typical ecclesiastical monuments which were maintained through the period, but saw transformation elsewhere. The theater may have fallen out of use early in the age, and the open square around the cenotaph was invaded by apparently private buildings by the sixth century. The history of the bath, whose construction indicates continuity of urban life, is not yet known. In any case, the end of antiquity is clearly marked at Limyra. The cathedral and the acropolis church were destroyed, and the district around the cenotaph abandoned, all apparently in the seventh or eighth century. Finds of coins, though relatively few, confirm a date in the Dark Ages for the transformation of the city. They continue from antiquity through the early years of Heraclius (613/4), then show a gap which has elsewhere been associated with the Persian invasions, and resume briefly for the last years of Heraclius and Constans II. The next coin is two centuries later, of Basil I.<sup>156</sup> Such a pattern, commonly found in Asia Minor, clearly indicates major economic change.

The most important site on the territory of Limyra was the port, Phoenix, which offers good protected anchorage. It stands under a mountain, at the mouths of the rivers Limyrus, which rises in Limyra, and the Arycandus, whose valley stretches into the interior, giving access to the forests and agricultural basins of northern Lycia. The port appears in history because it is the last convenient landfall on the way to Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt. When St. Nicholas of Zion was returning from the Holy Land, he sailed for ten days until reaching the Chelidonian Mountains (in the southeast corner of Lycia) and Phoenix. He asked the skipper to put him ashore there, but, because he wanted to take advantage of a favorable wind, the captain refused and sailed straight for his home, Rhodes. Only a miracle obliged him to leave the saint in Andriace, the port of Myra. This account, where Phoenix, Andriace, and Tristomon appear as the three ports of the region, reveals Phoenix as another example of the active maritime life of late antiquity.<sup>157</sup>

As in the region of Myra, the mountains west of Limyra contained late antique settlements and churches, with evidence of intensive agricultural occupation.<sup>158</sup> A square domed shrine of uncertain date or purpose stood at Asarönü on the road between Holy Zion and Limyra.<sup>159</sup> More substantial were two settlements of similar nature in the same region. That at Keşlik, high in the hills west of the Arycandus about 10 km from the sea, contained stone houses and a church, as well as numerous large stone oil presses, which may be taken to indicate another kind of local production. Below it was a fort.<sup>160</sup> At Turunçova, between Keşlik and Limyra, a large building of about 50 m square with cisterns and an oil press seems to have formed the center of another settlement with re-

<sup>155</sup> For the phases of rebuilding, see Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph*, 8–23.

<sup>156</sup> Summary of coins (unfortunately without findspots): *VII Kazi* (1985), 476–79.

<sup>157</sup> *VNS*, cap. 37.

<sup>158</sup> A new regional survey indicates considerable continuity of settlement pattern and land use from classical antiquity even to the present. See the preliminary reports: Borchhardt, "Grabungen," 174 f, and *XIII Kazi* 2.214 f. The latter gives some details of the settlements, without identifying them specifically.

<sup>159</sup> Harrison, "Churches," 126.

<sup>160</sup> Summary description in *VI Kazi* (1984), 422.

mains of walls and other cisterns.<sup>161</sup> Remains of architectural decoration have suggested a date in the fifth-sixth century for both settlements.

The rocky promontory south of Phoenix contains a small harbor which was apparently in use in late antiquity.<sup>162</sup> Above it on the hill was another establishment of the period, a monastery. This consists of a main church, a chapel, and dwellings for the monks. The church is a three-aisled basilica with narthex and the characteristic triconch chapel attached to its south aisle. Stylistic considerations suggest a date in the late sixth century. An additional chapel was subsequently attached to the south side of the building. A small single-aisled burial chapel stood nearby. The simple cells of the monks, of one or two rooms, lay scattered around.<sup>163</sup> Like the settlements in the hills, this establishment indicates late antique activity in the region as well as the city.

Byzantine Limyra was fundamentally different from its late antique predecessor. Instead of an open city below the acropolis, it consisted of two separate walled enclosures on either side of the river. Both were of irregular shape, with their strongest defenses toward the north, facing the road; the other sides were protected by the river and marshes. In both cases, the walls overrode or incorporated ancient buildings and took no account of the original layout of the city.

The walls of the eastern enclosure are of large and carefully arranged spoils. They have relatively few square hollow towers, and apparently no wallwalk.<sup>164</sup> Their style suggests a date in the Dark Ages. By this time, the cathedral which they enclosed was apparently in ruins; excavations have not revealed the nature of the buildings which succeeded it or filled this district. The walls of the west enclosure are substantially different; they are very solid, about 4 m thick, and have numerous closely set round and square towers (Fig. 43). They are faced with spoils, arranged in rough courses, with a good deal of filling in broken brick and small stone; the upper parts are of mortared rubble. The towers have massive foundations which support upper chambers leading to the wallwalk.<sup>165</sup> The plan and style of the fortress, which finds a close parallel in the walls of Pergamum, suggest a date in the Commene period, perhaps in the reign of Manuel (1143–80).<sup>166</sup>

These walls replaced an earlier circuit only about 1.8 m thick, which incorporated the ancient Ptolemaion as a bastion. It may have been contemporary with the east enclosure, and shows that the division of the site goes back to the original period of fortification.<sup>167</sup> Rebuilding of the western circuit alone may indicate that the eastern was abandoned and that the later Byzantine city consisted of the one enclosure only. Remains

<sup>161</sup> Briefly mentioned in *VIII Kazi* (1986), 2.115.

<sup>162</sup> See the preliminary report in Borchhardt, "Grabungen," 175–84.

<sup>163</sup> Grossman and Severin, "Forschungen," 104 f. Their dating (late sixth or seventh century; I have rejected the latter on the grounds of historical probability) seems to depend on a few fragments of mediocre sculptural decoration. Actually, in such cases low quality need not mean a later date, but simply a poorer establishment or less competent workmen.

<sup>164</sup> Briefly described in *V Kazi* (1983), 258 f.

<sup>165</sup> Brief description: *V Kazi* (1983), 258.

<sup>166</sup> See Foss, "The Defences of Asia Minor," esp. 166–71.

<sup>167</sup> *VI Kazi* (1984), 421 f; cf. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph*, 6 f. T. Marksteiner in Borchhardt, "Grabungen," 140, shows that the walls must be later than the early fifth century, but suggests a date in the sixth for them.

within its walls consist of poor rubble walls with much brick, representing the transformation of earlier structures. Among them were fragments of glazed pottery of the eleventh/twelfth century. These correspond with five anonymous bronzes of the eleventh century, the only late Byzantine coins found on the site.<sup>168</sup>

The church on the acropolis was rebuilt at an unknown time, but, as parallels in the region of Myra suggest, during the Middle Ages. A small basilical chapel of 15 × 7 m with walls of mortared rubble was built into the ruined nave of the earlier monastic church. It had two graves below the floor and traces of frescoes on the wall. Subsequently, pillars were added to create a narthex. North of its apse, over the ruins of the former triconch, was a small chapel which may have served as an intermediate church between the destruction of the first and erection of the second. No chronology has been established for either building.<sup>169</sup>

The port of Phoenix appears more often in the Byzantine historical record than Limyra because of its location on the strategic sea route between Byzantium and Islam. It was the site of the great naval battle in 655 when, for the first time, the Arabs destroyed the Byzantine fleet, and opened the coast to their ravages; thereafter, it seems to have suffered like Myra.<sup>170</sup> In 715, an Arab flotilla from Alexandria put into the harbor to cut cypress wood, a commodity highly valued by the treeless Egyptians. The emperor Artemius ordered the imperial fleet to assemble at Rhodes and move on Phoenix, to burn the wood and destroy the Arab equipment. Unfortunately for the empire, the sailors of the Opsikian theme revolted and led the fleet back toward the capital; the Arabs presumably got the supplies they needed.<sup>171</sup> This narrative reflects the traditional importance of many Lycian ports as sources for the raw materials, especially timber, which came from the interior. Since the need of the empire and its enemies for timber for shipbuilding never abated, the ports maintained their role as entrepôts between the hills and basins of the interior and the outer world.

Although Limyra itself is never mentioned except as a bishopric, Phoenix remained a place of some importance. It appears as a base of the maritime Cibyrrhaeot theme in the tenth century, as a stop for the pilgrim Saewulf in 1102, and as a gulf with a fortress in the work of the Arab Idrisi of 1117.<sup>172</sup> These attestations confirm the strategic location of the site and its role in international communication, as often warlike as commercial. By the end of the twelfth century, however, the region was in chaos.

The weakness of the empire after the disaster of Myriokephalon (1176), when the Byzantine army was crushed by the Turks, was exacerbated by the incompetence of the emperors who succeeded Manuel Comnenus. Andronicus I (1183–85) ordered the massacre of the Latins—citizens of the powerful maritime Italian states—resident in Constantinople. The Pisans, in revenge, mercilessly ravaged the Byzantine shores as pirates. One of their major bases was Phoenix, called the “Pisan Port” because of the number of

<sup>168</sup>Buildings: *VII Kazı* (1985), 447; *XI Kazı* (1989), 1, 190 f; pottery: *VIII Kazı* (1986), 115; coins: *VII Kazı* (1985), 478 (no findspot given).

<sup>169</sup>See R. Jacobek, “Bericht über die Grabungsarbeiten an einer frühbyzantinischen Kirche in Limyra,” *JÖB* 37 (1987), 329–33, with later reports in *X Kazı* (1988) 2.149 f, *XI Kazı* (1989), 2.191 f.

<sup>170</sup>Theophanes, 345 f; cf. 332 for the effects of the battle.

<sup>171</sup>Theophanes, 385.

<sup>172</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematis*, 78; Saewulf, 5; Idrisi, II, 134.

their corsairs based there. The French king Philip Augustus destroyed four of them in 1191 on his return from the Crusades.<sup>173</sup>

The remains of Phoenix are typically those of fortifications. The Hellenistic walls and towers which protected the harbor appear to have been rebuilt in the Dark Ages, with further repairs around the end of the Byzantine period.<sup>174</sup> Elsewhere there is little evidence. Only the large refuge fort above the settlement at Keşlik appears to be later than the sixth century. It probably represents a widespread phenomenon of the Dark Ages, when the rural populations were constantly forced to withdraw with their flocks to protected locations at a time when the country was being overrun by Arab attacks.<sup>175</sup>

The excavations and standing remains typically reveal a development which could never be perceived through the written sources alone. The well-decorated cathedral, bishop's palace, baths, monastery, and houses show that late antique Limyra prospered. So did its territory: sources about Phoenix and new churches and monasteries in the hills and on the coast indicate substantial activity, most of it no doubt reflecting trade with the interior and the Mediterranean. This was facilitated by the highways maintained and even improved by the long bridge east of the city. Yet the appearance of the city changed, as open spaces were filled and ancient buildings abandoned or transformed. Limyra in the time of Justinian may have had a shabby appearance by classical standards, but prospered nonetheless, and that prosperity was shared by its port and inland territory.

The Byzantine age brought major changes. Limyra withdrew behind two sets of fortress walls; its major monuments were ruined. It seems later to have consisted of the smaller enclosure alone which probably represents part of the efforts of the Comnene emperors to maintain control of the region. Likewise, the monastic church on the acropolis was replaced by a small chapel built within its nave. Few conclusions may be extracted from the remains of the outlying sites, except that Phoenix was a small castle by the harbor, and a large refuge fort was established above Keşlik. In these cases, the historical record of Phoenix provides a welcome supplement by illustrating the changes: in the Middle Ages, the port became much more important than the city, and was probably of comparable size. The coast was frequented (and attacked), but this age of turmoil left little opportunity for the preservation of a city which had depended on peaceful trade and agriculture.

#### PHASELIS

The eastern shore of the Lycian peninsula contains two major sites, both of them with good harbors and access to sufficient cultivable land and, as always, to the forests of the adjacent mountains. Of them, Olympus, the first town north of the Chelidonian promontory, would be of the greatest interest for this study if it were better known. The extensive site, which stretches inland on both sides of a stream between steep hills, contains many

<sup>173</sup>Roger of Hoveden, III, 158 (= Benedict, 195). For the circumstances, see C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 212 f.

<sup>174</sup>I suggest these periods on the basis of personal inspection. One of the towers, now demolished, is illustrated in B. Pace, "Ricerche nella regione di Conia, Adalia e Scalanova," *Annuario* 6-7 (1923-24), 343-452, at 429.

<sup>175</sup>Mentioned in *VI Kazı* (1984), 422. On such forts, see Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications*, 140-42.

remains of late antique and Byzantine buildings (Figs. 44, 45). Churches, baths, and mosaics survive from the former period, while large houses (or public buildings) may be Byzantine. One of the churches is a huge basilica, with its apse of fine ashlar covered with marble revetment, and interior columns of granite, a stone necessarily imported. It stands beside a stream which runs in a channel about a meter wide and a meter deep, lined with hydraulic cement; this appears to be late antique since it partially blocks the Roman city gate. One of the baths has plastered walls and unusually fine brickwork. All the remains suggest a remarkably high standard of construction and abundant local resources. When the site has been properly investigated, it may reveal a larger number and variety of medieval buildings than any in the area, and may be seen as a place which really prospered in that age. The written record, however, mentions it only as a bishopric, and its postclassical remains have not been surveyed or published.<sup>176</sup>

Much more information is available about Phaselis, an ancient site which covers a hilly promontory between two natural harbors. This city, too, finds virtually no place in the historical record. Only the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions it as a base of the Cibyrrhaeot theme in the tenth century.<sup>177</sup> Its surveyed and partly excavated remains, however, are substantial and informative.

The focus of the city was a broad Roman boulevard which connected the two harbors beneath the steep headland of the acropolis. Lined with shops and public buildings, it acquired a triumphal arch and enclosed agora to celebrate the visit of the emperor Hadrian. This rectangular agora (so called in its dedicatory inscription) occupied a space of  $37 \times 33$  m in the center of the city. Late antiquity brought major changes: a basilical church took over the northern half, while the rest was divided into rooms around a court. The outer walls of the complex were decorated with plaster painted in red stripes of a type frequently found in the period. The church is a three-aisled basilica with large narthex and rooms beside the apse; its walls of mortared rubble were plastered inside and out. It seems to date from the fifth or early sixth century, and may have been the cathedral. In any case, its insertion into such a central building reflects the great importance of the church in a Lycian bishopric.<sup>178</sup>

Immediately to the north of the church was a bath-gymnasium complex built at an odd angle directly over several of the shops of the main street. It consisted of four main enclosed rooms, their walls covered with marble revetment, and a large open palaestra whose entrance was paved with mosaics in geometric and floral style. The mosaic bore an inscription which appears to be late antique. This large bath was apparently built in the third century or later. Many lamps and coins of the fourth century found in its furnace, however, may suggest that the complex is late antique. Whatever its date, it was substantially changed soon after it was built, with some openings being closed and some doors being reduced to windows. The reasons for the changes are not known, but evidently the bath maintained its functions.<sup>179</sup>

Another, similar bath (without palaestra) stood across the main street from the agora,

<sup>176</sup> Written from personal observation. For a description of the site, see G. Bean, *Turkey's Southern Shore* (London, 1968), 151–64 which, however, does not include the postclassical remains.

<sup>177</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematribus*, 79.

<sup>178</sup> Described in detail in H. Schläger et al., *Phaselis* (Tübingen, 1981; henceforth *Phaselis*), 93–98.

<sup>179</sup> See the reports in *V Kazı* (1983), 187 f, *VI Kazı* (1984), 302–4 (with plan), *VII Kazı* (1985), 375 f.

directly beneath the theater. It, too, was built over the colonnades of the street, which it narrows at this point. It consists of at least three rooms, comparable in size to those of the other gymnasium. It was partly rebuilt not long after its construction, apparently because of an earthquake. Finds suggest that it was built at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century and used until the Arab attacks.<sup>180</sup>

A larger and earlier agora lay immediately south of the rectangular agora, and shows considerable traces of late antique repairs. It was directly connected to a building of several rooms arranged around a courtyard, whose style of construction suggests a date in the fifth or sixth century. The purpose of this structure has not been determined, but its location directly on the harbor certainly points to a mercantile function, perhaps a warehouse or an inn.<sup>181</sup> It could even have been a small market where merchants displayed their wares. In any case, it attests to the continuing commercial importance of the port in late antiquity.

Most other buildings in the center of the city show traces of late antique repair, and new structures of that age appear in the adjacent districts. Among them are a large building of several rooms on the lagoon in the western part of the city, and nearby houses. All are built of mortared rubble in a late antique style. Also of the period is the church on the acropolis, overlooking the sea. It is a three-aisled basilica of 17 × 12.5 m, with side rooms.<sup>182</sup> Although none of these structures can be precisely dated, they show that the whole ancient area of the city was in active use during late antiquity.

Byzantine Phaselis was quite different. The buildings of the central and western parts appear to have been given up or put to fundamentally different uses. Evidence comes from the rectangular agora, the theater baths, and the theater. The open part of the agora adjacent to the church saw much rebuilding, with the insertion of walls which divide the space into smaller units; the later history of the church has not been determined. The floor of the frigidarium of the theater gymnasium was pierced by a pit with traces of slag which show that it was used for melting metal. The theater itself was filled with late walls indicating occupation rather than its traditional use.<sup>183</sup> In all these cases, the ancient function of the central buildings of the city was given up, and new uses introduced. The agora may have been occupied since its strong walls could offer the possibility of defense, while the bath was apparently used for minor industrial activity, perhaps exploiting the materials of the building.

The theater had a new function, as a bastion in the medieval defenses of the city. The new walls encircle the acropolis, connecting it with the south harbor and the smaller city harbor to the north, which was apparently used by the local war fleet. They take advantage of the strong bulk of the theater and existing terrace walls to form a circuit defended by towers. The style of the walls, of mortared rubble faced with irregularly arranged spoils (Fig. 46), suggests the Dark Ages, while the numerous repairs show that they were in use for a considerable period. Their extension to the harbors plainly reveals the continuing maritime importance of the city, now a base of the thematic fleet. Both harbors were defended and saw the addition of new docks. That in the south was built of statue

<sup>180</sup> *V Kazi* (1983), 184–86.

<sup>181</sup> Agora: *Phaselis*, 102–6; courtyard building: *ibid.*, 106–10.

<sup>182</sup> West city: *Phaselis*, 124 f; acropolis church: *ibid.*, 122.

<sup>183</sup> Agora: *VII Kazi* (1985), 374 f; bath: *V Kazi* (1983), 184 f; theater: *Phaselis*, 117–21.

bases taken from the main street. The north dock has been dated to the eighth century on the basis of calculations of the changing relative levels of the land and sea. Such a date would seem appropriate for the whole medieval circuit of walls.<sup>184</sup>

Byzantine Phaselis thus consisted of the fortified acropolis and harbor, with scattered occupation and activity in the former monumental center. The public buildings of the late antique city were fundamentally transformed or abandoned (the church may have continued in use, protected by its walled enclosure), and the public works and services they represented discontinued. The city maintained its role as a significant port, but its size was much reduced during and after the Dark Ages.

### CONCLUSIONS

This evidence from a relatively small but important coastal region allows some significant conclusions to be drawn, first about methodology, and most important, about the entire historical development of the region. It provides a detailed outline of social and economic changes, raw material on which theories can be based, but little explanation for the changes which it makes so evident.

First, the archaeological record appears as the essential element for reconstructing local history. If a narrative were to be based on the written sources alone, it would be a bare outline, of a page or two. Except for the region of Myra in the sixth century, the historical sources provide little basis for understanding the period. The remains, on the other hand, give innumerable details about conditions in both city and country. They make it possible to visualize both in late antiquity and to follow their development for almost a thousand years. Although some areas are far better known than others, the picture is consistent and can be formed into a coherent whole. Conclusions about the region, therefore, will depend heavily upon the physical evidence, an integral and necessary part of the historical record.

Coastal Lycia flourished in late antiquity, reaching a height of prosperity in the sixth century. Although the remains are rarely dated with any precision, there is enough evidence from them and the sources to emphasize the importance of the age of Justinian. Information comes from the cities, the coastal regions, and the adjacent interior territories.

The cities prospered in late antiquity. Xanthus, the largest of the region, actually expanded, with extensive new construction on the Hellenistic acropolis and in the eastern district. The great basilical church is only one of several monuments of this period. At the same time, the ancient public buildings remained in use. The Letoon, on the other hand, was largely abandoned and used as a quarry as the pagan cults yielded to Christianity. This raises a point of methodology: the concentration of excavation and research on churches might produce an exaggerated impression of growth and prosperity, since all churches were necessarily new in this period. It is not possible to base a theory on their remains alone, for they might have been built entirely at the expense of other monuments, even at a time when other parts of a city were desolate. They therefore need to be seen in the context of an entire city, preferably in association with other remains which show evidence of growth or continuity. Only when they represent entirely

<sup>184</sup>Acropolis walls: *Phaselis*, 113–16; north harbor: 63–70; date of dock: 84; south dock: *V Kazi* (1983), 182.

new settlements, or the first major buildings in a place or district, may they stand as evidence by themselves.

Patara and Aperlae, though less well known, built impressive new churches and appear to have maintained their ancient areas. Aperlae also has many remains of late antique houses and a bath. Cyaneae expanded outside its walls and built several churches. Myra, rebuilt by Justinian, acquired the new pilgrimage church of St. Nicholas, and seems to have maintained its ancient structure. More complete evidence comes from its port, Andriace, which should be considered together with the city. Its remains show considerable activity, mostly secular—the large water mill, the densely packed residential districts with their churches, and the maintenance of the great granary.

Limyra presents a more complicated picture. It built new churches, one of them quite substantial, as well as baths and new houses, but its theater may have gone out of use early, and its great monument to Caius Caesar was in the process of being dismantled. In this, it was typical of many cities of the period, whose regular classical plan was being obscured by new construction which intruded on former open spaces, and whose ancient monuments were being turned into quarries of cut stone. Such destruction of the past, with the use of spoils, is characteristic of even the greatest cities—it is evident at Rome as well as Ephesus—and need not be taken as evidence for urban decline. The people of the period had a different aesthetic from their Hellenistic or Roman predecessors, and were content to construct their buildings of reused stones, covering them with elaborate cut marble, mosaics, or frescoes. This does not mean that there were fewer of them or that they were poorer than their predecessors. Each case has to be judged according to its own evidence.<sup>185</sup>

The cities of the east coast also prospered. The remains of Olympus, which have not been studied, include a great number of impressive late antique buildings. The image of Phaselis, because of excavation and surveys, is more complete. In addition to the usual churches, it built or maintained baths and acquired a new market building by the harbor. The ancient agora continued to function, but the smaller agora of Hadrian was put to new uses, with a church and associated buildings now filling its interior, another example of late antique urban transformation. The whole ancient site participated in the activity of the time.

For the cities, then, the advance is consistent: they prospered and even grew, though reflecting changes brought by the disestablishment of paganism and new urban fashions.

The most spectacular evidence comes from the coastal districts, where new construction was extensive. The shores and islands of the gulf of Telmessus were filled with late

<sup>185</sup>In this, I regret that I must differ profoundly with Professor Harrison, who, in a series of highly repetitive articles ("Nouvelles découvertes"; "Town and Country"; "Lycia in Late Antiquity," in *Yayla* 1 [1977], 10–15; "Aspects of Late Roman and Early Byzantine Lycia," in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* [Ankara, 1979], 1.525–32; and "Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia," in *Colloque*, 109–18) advances a very different theory of decline and growth. According to this, late antiquity was a time of decline for the cities, as shown by their use of spoils. The populations withdrew to the hills where they were able to build the magnificent churches which he so meritoriously discovered and studied. The problems with this are obvious: first, the cities, especially those of the coast, were not in decline. Then, how to explain the growth of the villages and their churches, except by relating them to the outside world? Surely the villagers, thrown back on their local resources, in contact only with dying cities, could never have generated the wealth to produce such monuments. Prof. Harrison's theories are uncritically followed by Fowden, 369. Hellenkemper ("Lykien und die Araber"), however, qualifies them as "eine archäologische Fiktion." See also below, note 190.

antique settlements, representing a whole maritime culture. Lebissos, immediately to the south, consists of an entirely preserved late antique city. I include it here, rather than with the ancient cities, since it was fundamentally different from them, lacking the public monuments of earlier ages. Its remains include large churches, the remarkable covered passage leading to the cathedral, numerous houses, and a great cistern, all evidently late antique. The island of Dolichiste presents similar evidence, while sources show that the adjacent port of Tristomon also flourished. It appears, then, that the small sites of the coast grew even more than the ancient cities, and that this was an extremely active maritime area, reaching a height of development never achieved before or since.

The mountain areas behind the coast, best known in the region of Myra, are equally impressive. Large numbers of villages flourished in late antiquity. They were able to build elaborate churches of finely cut stone, and solid two-story stone houses. The monastery of Holy Zion, with its spectacular and unexpected silver treasure, is only the most famous of the churches. Similar sites survive in the territory of Limyra; other regions have not been explored. The mountain villages are remarkable for their short lives: they rarely contain buildings datable before or after the sixth century. In this, they resemble the coastal sites, with activity and prosperity rising through late antiquity, to reach a peak in the age of Justinian.

In late antiquity, city, coast, and mountain prospered together. Sources and remains combine to show that their wealth derived largely from trade. This is especially true of the coast and mountain, where large settlements could not have survived on their own resources alone. The villages of the mountains could only prosper as they did by selling their products and skills in the cities and elsewhere. They produced wheat, wine, oil, and especially timber, and their population had the skills of loggers and stonecutters. They depended, therefore, on a network of interconnection with the cities and the coast, where they could sell their products and generate the surplus used to build the elaborate churches. In isolation, they could not have fed such substantial populations, and in subsequent ages have been almost completely deserted. Similarly, many sites of the coastal region, lacking fresh water and agricultural land, needed trade. They functioned as markets for the interior districts, and centers of transshipment. Many were no doubt also fishing ports, producing another food supply for the markets.

The cities, of course, were the greatest markets. In some cases they had products of their own, including the incense mentioned in association with Telmessus and Myra, and production of the incredibly expensive purple dye which the remains of Aperlae suggest. Trade, however, seems dominant, especially in wheat, as shown by the great Roman granaries and the sources. The trade was not only local, between the coast and the interior, but had an important long-distance component, reflecting the elaborate imperial system of storage and shipment of grain to feed the huge population of Constantinople. Timber was also a major item of business, since it was in great demand in treeless Egypt. Hence, the frequent appearance in the sources of ships sailing from even small Lycian ports to Egypt, the Holy Land, and Greece. Contact with the Levant was so extensive that Egyptian influence appears in the style of local architecture, in the common addition of tri-conch chapels to basilical churches.<sup>186</sup> In late antiquity, then, Lycia was oriented to the

<sup>186</sup> See Harrison, "Churches," 150, with interesting speculation on the role of Lycia in the development of Byzantine architecture.

outside world, and especially to the eastern Mediterranean. Lycia and Egypt still had close connections in the nineteenth century, when travelers frequently mention caravans of mules carrying logs down to the coast, and ships from Alexandria in the local harbors.<sup>187</sup>

This area of Lycia represents a phenomenon common in the eastern Mediterranean: the growth of substantial settlements in areas previously less populated, settlements which depended on trade in agricultural products. Best known are the limestone villages of northern Syria, which depended heavily on the production and sale of olive oil, used in the great neighboring cities of Antioch and Apamea, or shipped from there to other parts of the empire.<sup>188</sup> Cilicia offers a similar picture of abundant stone villages with large churches in the hills behind the coast in an area which produced a great deal of olive oil, and small towns, whose existence was often confined to late antiquity, along the coast.<sup>189</sup>

The prosperity of late antiquity, culminating in the late sixth century, makes the subsequent collapse even more spectacular. Evidence from the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries reveals a complete transformation. Decline and abandonment affected most regions, including all the cities, where fortifications became an essential element of urban life. Most of these walls may be dated only in general terms to the Dark Ages, but those of Telmessus can be associated with the early eighth century, and of Xanthus probably to the mid-seventh.

In most cases, the walls represent a fundamental change, in which formerly prosperous districts were left outside their circuit and abandoned.<sup>190</sup> This phenomenon is clearest at Xanthus, whose new walls exclude the eastern district, where the great basilica was destroyed in the mid-seventh century. In this case, the fortifications clearly defended the inhabited district, and outlying areas, left to their fate, were not reoccupied. Likewise, the monastery at the Letoon was destroyed in the early seventh century and never rebuilt. The walls of Patara protect about half the ancient site. Phaselis withdrew from its

<sup>187</sup> See, for example, T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia* (London, 1847), 108 f (caravans of mules with timber on their way from the Kasaba plain to Andifli, whence it was shipped to Alexandria), 121 f, (woodcutters cutting logs to float down the Myrus River), 145 (Finike, the port of Elmalı, formerly much frequented by the sultan's ships carrying corn and wood between Constantinople and Alexandria); Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen*, 127 (donkeys and mules carrying trees on the roads, all destined for Alexandria); and cf. Hoskyn, "Narrative," 153 (caravans bringing wheat from Elmalı to Makri).

<sup>188</sup> See the classic work of G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* (Paris, 1953), with the revisions produced by the French excavations at one of the villages: "Déhès . . . recherches sur l'habitat rural," *Syria* 57 (1980), 1–304.

<sup>189</sup> There is no general study of this region: see J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien* (*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* III) (Manchester, 1931), 102–228. The region is discussed in F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien* (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5) (Vienna, 1990), which provides a valuable gazetteer of sites, but makes no attempt to integrate the archaeological and historical records. See in particular its detailed map of the region of Seleucia and the discussions of the individual sites.

<sup>190</sup> Fowden, 368, remarks that "one of the most frequent types of late Roman building is the defensive wall, usually enclosing a contracted area of the town often identical with the ancient Lycian settlement." He cites the example of Pinara (not a town of the coast, and hence not studied here) which in fact seems anomalously to have been in decline in late antiquity, perhaps precisely because it was not on the coast: see my remarks in "Cities and Villages," 320 f. This example, the only one easily cited, does not support the proposed generalization. Otherwise, the fortifications here considered are almost universally (with the apparent exception of Aperlae, whose walls do not represent contraction) of the Dark Ages, not "late Roman." It might therefore be possible to postulate that cities of the interior were in decline while those of the coast were prospering, the opposite of Prof. Harrison's theories (above, note 185), but not a subject to be pursued here.

ancient center to the acropolis above it. At Aperlae, however, the walls appear to be late antique and without traces of later repair; this site may have been abandoned altogether.

Some cities were divided, with separate small fortifications defending a suitable hill-top and a harbor which continued in use. Telmessus is an example, as is Myra, which not only had two circuits, of the acropolis and of the church of St. Nicholas, but also a third at the port, Andriace, which was reduced by about half. Limyra also had two separate circuits, but these occupied part of the ancient center and owed their distinct existence to the river which bisected the site.

In these reduced cities of the Dark Ages, ancient buildings, with the public services they represented, were given up or used as bastions in the walls, and new construction was poor and haphazard. At Limyra, even the large basilical church within the walls was destroyed, apparently in the seventh century. Most striking is the fate of the churches at Cyaneae, which fell into ruin, eventually to be replaced by chapels which occupied a small part of their ancient structure. Plainly, the ancient city, whose life had continued through the sixth century, had come to an end.

Decline of the coastal region was even more precipitous. Most of the small sites were deserted; the maritime culture they represented disappeared. The most significant example is Lebissos, where there is no trace of activity between the early seventh century and perhaps the twelfth. The island contains no traces of fortification, nor are any repairs to its buildings to be associated with the intervening period. Similarly, Dolichiste and the surrounding settlements all seem to have been abandoned, and in this case never reoccupied. The only places on the coast where continuity may be observed are the ports of fortified cities, such as Andriace and Phoenix. Otherwise, the Dark Ages brought universal desolation.

The interior presents a more complex image. Although some places were deserted or much reduced in size—as shown by the small chapels built into the ruined naves of their once-splendid churches—others maintained continuity or even expanded. Holy Zion belongs to the former category: its treasure was looted and the church rebuilt on a smaller scale. On the other hand, the fortresses throughout the region reflect substantial activity. The greatest is at Dereagzı, possibly as early as the seventh (or as late as the ninth) century, overlooking a broad and fertile basin. The forts of the Myra region and the refuge fortress above Limyra probably belong to the same period. They may be taken to indicate movement of population from the exposed coastal region to the safer hills and valleys of the interior, where new bases were being built for them. The reduced sites of this region, however, suggest that there was no general increase of population.

The remains, then, suggest a widespread catastrophe, with a decline of population and change of settlement pattern, but do not explain it. Chronology provides some clues. The destruction of the basilica at the Letoon has been dated to the reign of Heraclius, and coins from Limyra suggest some destruction in that period, also. In those cases, it is natural to associate devastation with the long and destructive war between Rome and Persia, which lasted for a whole generation (602–630) and inflicted widespread devastation on Asia Minor. The Persians, for a time, controlled the seas, and were able to capture Rhodes and attack Samos.<sup>191</sup> Lycia would thus have been exposed to their attacks.

<sup>191</sup> See Foss, "The Persians," with important supplementary information in N. Oikonomides and P. Drososyanni, "A Hoard of Gold Byzantine Coins from Samos," *RN* 31 (1989), 145–82.

The Persian war could have provided an initial wave of destruction from which the empire never had a chance to recover before the unremitting attacks of the Arabs began. After the battle of Phoenix, when Byzantium lost control of the seas, the coast was exposed to the full ravages of the enemy. Defenseless island sites like Lebissos and Dolicliste would have had little hope of survival. The former bears specific evidence of these times, in the Arabic graffito on the basilica of Karazorza, which surely reflects the activities of a raiding party of the Umayyad period. At the same time, the constant warfare, and especially the loss of the eastern provinces from Syria through Egypt, completely disrupted the trade on which such places depended. Lycia became more inward-looking in this period, as its traditional peaceful contact with the Levant was broken. War, therefore, can be seen as a proximate agent of change and decline.

Other factors, however, were also at work. The environment of the coastal region is vulnerable. The rivers bring down masses of silt, which tend to clog the harbors unless they are constantly drained. The wars and territorial losses impoverished the government so that resources were no longer available for such work; everything had to be directed to defense. This situation was made worse by physical changes which appear to have become pronounced in late antiquity. In many areas, the coastal regions gradually sank, submerging some parts of the towns, allowing the sea to encroach on coastal land, upsetting the regime of the rivers, and producing unhealthy marshes near their mouths.<sup>192</sup> Such environmental factors provide an additional factor for explaining the remarkable decline of the coastal towns and cities.

Recovery came slowly and was never more than partial. The rebuilding of the church of St. Nicholas in Myra in the late eighth/early ninth century seems to be the first indication. In this case, the church was completely rebuilt on a new plan. Likewise, the church of Karkabo was restored, in its full size, in 812, a rare precise date. The most impressive example of recovery is perhaps the church of Dereagzi, or might be if it were better understood. It appears, however, almost to be extraneous to Lycia, representing activity in the capital, but showing nevertheless that by the ninth century it was possible to erect a large and magnificent church in such a well-protected location. The church perhaps reflects an opening of local horizons, and closer contact with Constantinople in an age when security was gradually being reestablished. The coastal cities may have shared in the recovery; at least at Phaselis the new docks appear to be of the eighth century, though there is little datable evidence elsewhere.

The record of the Byzantine age is mixed: there was some recovery, but always on a small scale. The successful centuries of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056), when Byzantium defeated most of its enemies, brought some prosperity to the region. Xanthos built the elaborate small church which replaced the east basilica; the new church at Cydna and repairs to its walls represent the first work there since late antiquity; the church of St. Nicholas and the walls of Myra were restored, and a new church built below the acropolis, the first new structure outside the walls in almost five hundred years. Elsewhere, this period has not been distinguished from others. In any case, it ended in disaster with the battle of Manzikert, which opened all Asia Minor to the attacks and

<sup>192</sup> See, for Xanthos, *Travaux et recherches en Turquie* 1982 (= *Collectanea turcica* 2; non vidi), and for Limyra, G. Wiegand, "Physisch-geographische Veränderungen im küstennahen südwestkleinasiatischen Raum . . .," *TürkArkDerg* 20-1 (1973), 40–43.

settlement of the Turks. The suffering of the time is attested at Myra, where the church of St. Nicholas was deserted and the people withdrew to the castle.

Recovery came once again with the Comneni, who gained control over the coastal regions and maintained it here as elsewhere by building fortresses. This work is evident at Telmessus, Xanthus, Patara, Cyaneae, Limyra, Phoenix, and especially Myra, where a whole chain of coastal forts was built or restored. They seem to have been part of a systematic effort to control this vital sea route and its harbors during the age of the Crusades when relations with the Levant were of crucial importance to the empire. In the region of Myra, civil life seems also to have revived, with chapels established in the coastal plain and hills near the city (where they often are inserted into the naves of ruined late antique basilicas), and even in the mountains. At Cyaneae, the walls were rebuilt to cover a smaller area, possibly after a period of abandonment, and the new chapels constructed within them were tiny compared with the earlier churches.

This was the last time of prosperity for Byzantine Lycia. The second great Turkish victory, at Myriokephalon in 1176, once again left the country open to attack. The situation was now so severe that most of the coastal region was abandoned, much of it not to see renewal until modern times.

The remains and historical record combine to produce a continuous image of this small but significant region in the millennium here considered. In fact, the image is largely derived from the remains whose abundance enables many developments to be perceived. They need here, as always, to be seen as an essential part of the historical record, and integrated with it. The evidence thus assembled is unambiguous, but also enigmatic: it enables phenomena to be identified but not necessarily explained. To do that, the material will need to be integrated into the broader context of Byzantium and the whole eastern Mediterranean. For the moment, though, it should be sufficient to demonstrate that a large body of material is available for study, and that it can do a great deal to illuminate the period, not only the most obscure parts, but even such a well-known epoch as the reign of Justinian.

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#### Abbreviations

- Anrich: G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* (Leipzig, 1913–17)  
 Bean: George Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London, 1978)  
 Benedict: Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867)  
*Colloque: Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris, 1980)  
 Daniel: *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*, ed. Col. Sir C. W. Wilson (London, 1895)  
 Foss, "Cities and Villages": C. Foss, "Cities and Villages of Lycia in the Life of St. Nicholas of Holy Zion," *GOTR* 36 (1991), 305–39  
 Foss, "Coasts": C. Foss, "The Coasts of Caria and Lycia in the Middle Ages, a Preliminary Report," *Fondation européenne de la science, Rapports des missions effectuées en 1983* (Paris, 1987), 212–55  
 Fowden: G. Fowden, "Religious Developments in Late Roman Lycia: Topographical Preliminaries," in *Meletemata* of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation (Athens, 1990)  
 Harrison, "Churches": M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963), 117–51  
 Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes": M. Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes romaines tardives et paléobyzantines en Lycie," *CRAI* (1979), 222–39  
*Myra: Myra, eine lykische Metropole*, ed. J. Borchhardt (Berlin, 1975)

Roger of Hoveden: *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1868–1871)

*TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris*

Zimmermann, *Landeskunde*: M. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens* (= *Antiquitas*, Reihe 1, Band 42) (Bonn, 1992)